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A

V I E W

OF THE REIGN OF

FREDERICK II. OF PRUSSIA.

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OF THE REIGN OF



FREDERICK II. OF PRUSSIA;

A PIA R A D E

THAT PRINCE AND PHILIP D. MACEDON

L.D. F.R.S. AND S.A.



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GREENE AND McALLISTER, AND W. JONES

MDCCLXXXIX

A
V I E W
OF THE REIGN OF
FREDERICK II. OF PRUSSIA;
WITH
A P A R A L L E L
BETWEEN
That PRINCE and PHILIP II. of MACEDON.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D. F.R.S. AND S.A.

Εγώ δε ἠγάμαι καλά μὲν εἶναι μνημεῖα, καὶ τὰς τῶν σωματῶν εἰκόνας·
πολυ μῆντοι πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, ἃς ἐν τοῖς
λόγοις ἀν τις μόνον τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχῃσι, θεωρήσει. ISOCRATES.

D U B L I N:
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M,DCC,LXXXIX.



TO

THE HONOURABLE

J O H N

AND THE HONOURABLE

C H A R L E S H O P E .

GENTLEMEN,

IN the following Work, my reflections on what I have lately read, are often modified by observations on what I formerly saw, during our travels in Germany, and particularly by the comparison which I had an opportunity of making, between the state of the Prussian dominions in 1784, and their condition a dozen years before that period, when I visited them in company with your late brother Henry, my ever regretted friend.

A

Besides

Besides this particular reason for offering
 the following narrative to you, the cam-
 paigns of Frederick, a Prince, concerning
 whom every enlightened mind must think,
 and every lover of letters must write, with
 pleasing enthusiasm, cannot, in my opinion,
 be honoured with any better patronage, than
 that of two British officers, who, with the
 true spirit of the military profession, unite
 that liberality of character, and those attain-
 ments in useful knowledge, which are essen-
 tially requisite, in a free country, to adorn
 the profession of arms, and render it subser-
 vient to the great purposes of national ho-
 nour and public happiness.

I remain, most faithfully and most affec-
 tionately,

Your sincere friend,

and obedient humble servant,

LONDON,
 New Norfolk Street,
 20th June, 1789.

JOHN GILLIES.



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THE
P A R A L L E L
O F
FREDERICK II. OF PRUSSIA
W I T H
PHILIP II. OF MACEDON.

Introduction. Ground of the Parallel. Philip and Frederick both tutored in the school of adversity. Encountered great difficulties at their respective accessions. Surmounted them by similar means. Lovers of pleasure and lovers of money, but governed by neither. Inventors in the art of war. History of Frederick's improvements. Both formed great generals, and invincible armies. Both eminent in arts as well as arms. Their architectural embellishments. Fond admirers of men of genius. Both met with signal instances of literary ingratitude. With the cares of royalty, conjoined the cordial delights of equal society. Eminent encouragers of productive industry. Their correspondent disdain for respected errors. Their

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amuse-

PARALLEL BETWEEN

amusements and luxury. Their enlightened system of political œconomy. Unremitted activity and unexampled success in promoting national prosperity. Their extraordinary attention to the education of their subjects. Their similar relations to foreign powers. Correspondent transactions in their reigns. Their policy varied by the manners of their respective ages. Their magnanimity. Estimate of their military glory. Their deaths.

Introduc-
tion.

IN the course of laborious application to a long work, it is necessary sometimes to unbend, and sometimes to divert, attention: but amusement is more useful than repose, especially when congenial to the ordinary aim of our labours. Devoted for several years past to the illustration of that important period of history which elapsed from the death of Alexander to the dominion of Augustus, and which comprehends the actions of the greatest men, and the revolutions of the greatest nations of antiquity, I am tempted often to deviate into collateral tracts of study; to consider, under similar points of view, the genius of ancient and modern times; to examine their respective merits in arts and arms; to ascertain their agreement by comparison, and to illustrate their differences by contrast. Of a man accustomed to give free scope to the exercise of such

com-

comparative meditations, the Memoirs of Frederick II. of Prussia, copiously related by himself, and by a felicity equally rare, carefully published under the auspices of his illustrious successor, could not fail to excite the attention in a very uncommon degree, since the enterprises of him whose transactions they describe, accord far better with the tumultuous conflicts of Alexander and of Cæsar, than with the regulated tameness of the eighteenth century.

But there is one prince of antiquity whose mixed character, *that* of his late Prussian Majesty ^{Ground of the parallel.} more nearly resembles, than either the conscious magnanimity of the Dictator, or the unbending heroism of the son of Philip. Of the founder of the Macedonian power, Cicero * says, that he was always great; yet unvaried greatness was not surely his prevailing characteristic. By his own acknowledgment, Philip, as well as Frederick, “eked out the lion’s with the fox’s skin;” his actions sometimes soared to magnanimity, and sometimes verged towards meanness; and though he loved the art of war, which he studied assiduously and successfully practised, he never attempted by force what could be accomplished by address.

* De Officiis, l. i. c. 26.

Both tutored in the school of adversity.

Concerning princes in whose characters and fortunes so many singular coincidences will be found, it may seem but a vulgar remark, that Frederick II. of Prussia, like Philip II. of Macedonia, was tutored in the school of adversity. During their early youth, the former was a prisoner at Kustrin, and the latter an hostage at Thebes. Yet to both princes alike, these apparent misfortunes, which might have oppressed the weakness of ordinary minds, proved essential benefits.— During his detention at Thebes, Philip acquired the friendship of Epaminondas, and profited by the lessons and example of that great man; and Frederick in his dungeon at Kustrin, afflicted by the double despotism of a king and a father, discovered, what the tumultuous levity of a court is only fitted to conceal, the inexhaustible resources of his own vigorous mind; and laid a foundation in study and reflection, for those solid virtues which afterwards adorned his reign.

Encountered great difficulties at their accession.

At their respective accession to the throne, both Philip and Frederick had great difficulties to encounter; the former to defend his title against two pretenders to the crown, and four formidable armies; the latter to consolidate his dominions, and to procure for them among the states of Europe, that rank in reality, which they enjoyed only in name.

name. Macedon, towards the north of Greece, and Brandenburg in the north of Germany, were countries barren and barbarous; and the inhabitants of both territories proverbial among their southern neighbours for dulness of understanding, and grossness of manners. The ancestors of Philip and of Frederick (even they whose virtues have been the most extolled by the amiable partiality of their descendants) afforded not to either of those princes examples worthy of imitation; and it had been reserved for both alike, to found the greatness of their families, and to redeem their subjects from contempt. This arduous talk, the Prussian as well as the Macedonian performed in the first years of his reign; and the means by which he performed it were precisely those of Philip; persevering industry and rigid frugality; augmenting the number and improving the discipline of his troops; above all, an unremitted attention to increase his revenues by enlarging the sources from which they flowed.

Surmounted them by the same means.

Both princes were addicted to pleasure, yet tenacious of property; but neither of them allowed his amusements to interfere with his affairs, nor permitted his habits of parsimony to obstruct his projects of ambition: the gold of Philip broke and overwhelmed the confederacy of his enemies,

and

Both lovers of pleasure and lovers of money, but governed by neither.

and Frederick spent almost his last crown in the conquest of Silesia.

Both inventors in the art of war.

In the art of war both were consummate masters, possessing, nearly in the same degree, that rare and happy mixture of courage and coolness, which forms great generals. The invention of Philip created or improved the tactics and the discipline of the Macedonians; their most skilful dispositions and most decisive movements mark the illustrious æra of his reign; and the imposing manœuvres of the Macedonian phalanx were thenceforth eagerly, but imperfectly, imitated by Greeks and Barbarians. In this interesting particular, the merit of his Prussian Majesty is not less conspicuous; and the importance of the subject not only justifies but requires an explanation, which, to be clear, must be copious.

Progress of that art in modern Europe.

With the decline of the Roman empire, the profession of arms, which had formerly been an accurate and refined art, degenerated into a trade, awkward in its practice, and almost destitute of principles. In the most celebrated engagements of the middle ages, strength and courage opposed courage and strength; and the superiority of numbers decided the issue of a battle, with nearly as much certainty as the excess of weight inclines the

the scale of a balance. Gustavus Adolphus, who, with an army of 25,000 Swedes, overawed the German empire, was the first modern general that resisted strength by velocity, and overcame force by address; and his rapid and skilful movements had already proved, what Marechal Saxe in his *Reveries* only ventures to predict, "that the time would come, when campaigns, and even battles, would depend on the feet, more than on the hands." But that illustrious Swede, who had been formed without a model, long continued without an imitator. In war, Condé and Turenne became celebrated names; Luxembourg gained great battles with great armies: the vast theatre on which they acted, and the honourable cause in which they fought, conspired with their own virtues, of cool combination and ardent execution, to consolidate the well-earned fame of Marlborough and Eugene. But the military art itself, was still left by those great men nearly in the same condition in which they found it; and if we credit Messrs. Guischart and Guibert, themselves gallant officers and most approved military authors, none of those successful generals already mentioned; no, nor Saxe, nor Villars, nor Vendôme, owed a single victory to the superiority of their manœuvres; that sublime branch of tactics which, till Frederick appeared, had been in modern times
neither

neither exemplified by practice nor even revived in theory.

Its true
theory,

From the pretended study of Grecian antiquity, the fanciful and long fashionable Folard derived nothing but inapplicable illustrations to justify his own extravagant system. Without regarding the difference between manual and missile weapons, that adventurous theorist always advanced his column, which, how well soever it may be adapted to the nature of the former, is almost always inconsistent with the best use of the latter. The pedantic Puysegur disserted gravely on circles, crescents, and wedges, as if by retailing Grecian names he could have communicated Grecian science. Each author proposed and boasted his peculiar system, while none of them seemed solicitous to regard the end at which the general ought to aim, or the means by which he is most likely to attain it; the end, not merely to occasion useless bloodshed, but to render the assault irresistible in one or more points, so that the confusion produced there, may be communicated to the whole line; and the means, not merely to advance intrepidly and attack vigorously, but in the moment of onset to form such unforeseen and skilful dispositions, as will enable an army greatly inferior in number, to surpass the
the

the enemy in exertion; and wherever the action is likely to prove most decisive, to bring a greater front to act against a smaller.

Frederick seized this important principle, and discerned the delicate modifications with which, revived by Frederick; according to the nature of troops and arms, and the diversity of local circumstances, the general rule must be applied to practice. From contemplating the foldings and developement of the Macedonian phalanx, he completed what Gustavus had begun, and perfected the doctrine of evolutions. In the exercise and employment of foot, a difference of arrangement necessarily resulted from the difference of armour in ancient and modern times; but the essential qualities of horse remaining uniformly the same in every age, the Prussian cavalry had only to follow the examples which the Macedonians had set, and by which, under the successors of Philip, they triumphed over the numbers of Asia, as well as over the courage and ferocity of Africa and of Europe. Guided by this distinction, who forms his cavalry on the ancient model. Frederick, who had himself embodied his squadrons, formed them on the Macedonian model, made them lay aside their carabines, taught them to trust more to their spurs than to their swords, trained them to charge in full career, and reduced

His ob-
lique or-
der.

ed their service from the awkward and ineffectual use of fire-arms, to that violent irruption*, that close, unexpected, and rapid assault, which is so often described with wonder in the memorable history of Philip and his successors. It is affirmed by Mr. Guibert, that the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa suggested to Frederick the idea of his oblique order; but without attempting to prove this assertion, it may be observed, that armies in most ages, but especially in times of ignorance, have charged, as often as it was possible, with the full extent of their fronts. With the complete length of their respective lines, Clovis and Attila engaged in their desperate conflict; in the same parallel arrangement, Charles Martel fought against the Saracens, and Charlemagne against the Saxons. Europe, however, had no sooner emerged from the gross barbarity of the middle ages, than the commanders of armies endeavoured to avoid this dangerous mode of combat, and reciprocally strove to attack each other in flank, by detachments separate from the main body. But Frederick, aspiring to an higher aim, converted the occasional business of divisions into the habitual duty of his line; and reviving the sublime tactics of

* Η βίαμη εισβολή. Arrian, Plutarch, and Diodorus.

Epami-

Epaminondas and Philip, rendered the attack in flank, which had hitherto been considered as an incident, the principal action in his bloody drama.

Amidst the tumults of war and the intrigues of policy, that indefatigable prince found leisure deeply to meditate the instructive examples which two imperial nations had left the rulers of the earth. The Macedonian conquerors, whose degenerate descendants fell a prey to the Romans, often defeated with twenty or thirty thousand men, innumerable hosts of warlike Barbarians, reinforced by large bodies of Greek mercenaries armed and disciplined after the Macedonian fashion. Equal or inferior in other respects, their uniform success could result only from the peculiar merit of their generals; since the weapon on one side was not stronger than the weapon by which it was opposed, the hand that wielded it, must have been more active and more dextrous. Yet, except by the savage heroism of Charles XII. of Sweden, who admired a character that had been disfigured by the romantic Quintus Curtius into the resemblance of his own, the tactics of Alexander and his lieutenants passed unregarded through the succession of ages, till the congenial mind of Frederick perceived their

Restores
the Ma-
cedonian
tactics and
mode of
combat.

their excellence, and adopted them as the highest improvement of his military system. Through the deceitful mist of imperfect translations, he discerned the sense of the original; and beheld those accomplished generals, not marshalling their troops after the dull formality of an unalterable plan, but adapting their ever-varying operations to the infinite diversity of circumstances; examining the ground in person, choosing their points of attack, and amidst the apparent intricacy of rapid evolutions, directing their multiplied yet easy movements to one decisive termination. Did they mean to attack the enemy on either wing, a mode of onset which Alexander practised often, and which Frederick always preferred, they skilfully masked this design; and advancing at the head of their light troops, employed the complicated feints and extended evolutions of their horse, to cover and conceal the massy columns of their foot, which, as the lightning forms behind the cloud, prepared by one sudden and unforeseen manœuvre to unfold the enemy's flank. This movement generally proved decisive. The infantry broke and repelled the enemy; and the cavalry, which had first served to mask the attack, now hastened forward to complete the rout, and to improve the victory.

An

An art that has been reduced to precise rules is no longer the field for genius. The Prussian as well as the Macedonian tactics were adopted without improvement, and sometimes injudiciously imitated by allies and enemies. But the intellectual resources of Philip and Frederick, which, amidst the distressing scenes of unequal warfare, discovered expedients for each exigency, and provided remedies for each disorder; that dexterity in adapting means to ends; that flexibility in varying their measures without altering their purpose; and that sagacity, profound and unexampled, which discovered in matters of war, as well as of policy, extensive ramifications of consequences in the compact and almost imperceptible germs from which they were produced;—such sublime attributes of the general can only be imitated or understood by those who have received peculiar gifts from nature, and improved them by habitual industry: advantages, uncommon as they are, which appear to have been enjoyed by several Prussian as well as Macedonian captains; since Philip and Frederick are eminently distinguished above other conquerors by forming men worthy to second them, and therefore uniformly successful against various enemies, armed and disciplined after their own model.

Philip and Frederick endowed with the sublime attributes of the general.

Their peculiar distinction.

In

Philip and
Frederick
alike emi-
nent in
arts and
arms.

In all civilized nations, the most illustrious characters have sought distinction by the pen or by the sword; because to excel in such pursuits requires the keenest exertions of intellectual vigour. The glory of Philip and of Frederick results from combined excellence in arts, arms, and letters*. With respect to letters, time indeed has obscured the well-earned fame of the Macedonian; and even in his own age, the envy of an Athenian or Olympic audience, which had hissed the poetry of Dionysius, not because his verses were bad, but because their author was a king, might be more solicitous to repress the literary ambition of Philip, than even to resist his arms. Yet the transactions of his public, the anecdotes of his private life, his wit and humour in conversation, the sprightliness of his sallies, and the smartness of his replies, together with his letters and his dispatches, some of which are still on record, exhibit a miniature, dimmed indeed by age, of what Frederick is a picture, large as the life, and blooming in all the freshness of colours. The same princes, who were their own ministers and their own generals, assiduously cultivated music and other elegant arts, expatiated in the wide fields of universal science†, studied

* See Isocrates's Orations and Letters addressed to Philip.

† See Isocrates's Letters to Philip.

and imitated the best authors, corresponded and disputed with the learned men of their own time*; and not oppressed with those multiplied labours, Frederick found leisure to prepare in his memoirs, an inestimable monument, for the example of kings and the instruction of posterity.

Not only in the variety, but in the cast and bent of their genius, the coincidence is remarkable. The same easy flow of animated composition, the same liveliness of fancy which will perpetuate their sayings to the latest times, the same talent for ridicule chastised by equal politeness, the same judgment of things, and the same discernment of characters. Born amidst the half barbarous Macedonians and Prussians, the minds of both princes emerged from the obscurity into which fortune had thrown them; and finding nothing congenial to their own feelings in the objects with which they were surrounded, both looked abroad, and discovered, the one in Athens, and the other in Paris, men whose attachment they deserved by a sympathy of character and pursuits, and who were qualified to illustrate their courts with a real splendour beyond any that wealth can purchase or

Coincide
in the pe-
culiar cast
of their
minds.

* See Philostratus's Lives of the Sophists.

Their re- power command. In his letter to Aristotle, "I
 spect for 'rejoice," said Philip, "not so much that a son
 men of is born to me, as that he is born at a time when
 genius. Aristotle lives:" And his Prussian Majesty dis-
 covered a solicitude, the strongest and most ex-
 traordinary, to acquire the friendship and en-
 joy the conversation of D'Alembert and Vol-
 taire. During a long and incurable malady,
 the former of these celebrated Frenchmen deriv-
 ed his principal consolation from the correspon-
 dence of his royal friend; and the unrivalled
 talents of the latter, were admired and praised,
 by a prince, above resentment and above envy,
 after the envenomed satirist, or rather serpent,
 warming in the bosom of friendship, endeavour-
 ed to sting his invulnerable fame.

Both ex-
 perience
 signal in-
 stances of
 literary
 ingrati-
 tude.

Philip also found a Voltaire and a serpent in
 Theopompus the Chian, whose brilliant fancy
 and persuasive eloquence feebly atoned for the
 cruelty of his invective, and the wickedness of
 his calumny. He was the friend, the historian,
 the admirer, and the scourge of the Macedonian
 prince. His indecency accused Philip of the
 same infamous passions, which the impure fancy
 of the author of the Pucelle has imputed to the
 king of Prussia; while the Diet of the empire
 arraigned Frederick for the same crimes, of
 rapacity,

rapacity, perfidy, and inordinate lust of power, which the vehement declamation of Demosthenes has arrayed in such force and splendour against the “barbarous Macedonian.”

With the cares and the pomp of royalty, it has always been found difficult to conjoin the cordial delights of equal society. But this advantage, difficult as it seems, both Philip and Frederick attained. With the same graceful ease they received the homage of courtiers, and received the lessons of philosophers; presided in a council, or presided at an entertainment; directed the operations of an army, or directed a band of music; and, living in a familiar intercourse with their friends and generals, cultivated the virtues of the man, without committing the dignity of the king. Encouraged by the liberal festivity of their characters, the assemblies of their respective capitals became as animated, and almost as engaging, as their models in Athens and in Paris. Macedon and Brandenburg assumed the air of Grecian and French colonies; and while a new science of military evolutions was created or revived on the banks of the Lydias and the Sprey, the vicinity of those hitherto obscure rivers was adorned by schools of philosophy and academies of arts, by temples, theatres, and
C
palaces,

With the
cares of
royalty,
conjoin
the cor-
dial de-
lights of
equal so-
ciety.

The ar-
chitectu-
ral em-
bellish-
ment of
their re-

spective
countries.

palaces, which rendered the architectural ornaments of Potzdam worthy of comparison with the magnificence of Pella. The inhospitable ruggedness of Hæmus and of Rhodopé, and the thick gloom of the German forests, inhabited by men more rugged and more gloomy than the rudest scenes of savage nature, were adorned by the ingenuity of Greece, or enlivened by the sprightliness of France; and the seeds of improvement being sown with care, and cultivated with skill, speedily ripened to perfection, and rewarded the beneficent hands from which they sprung.

Their cor-
respon-
dent dis-
dain for
respected
errors.

Eager to promote the advancement of those arts which embellish social life and secure the immortal renown of princes by whom they are honoured, both Philip and Frederick discovered, perhaps with too little respect for the public opinion, an ineffable disdain for those doubtful yet presumptuous sciences, which often change their principles, but never vary their object; which continually alter in form, but never improve in substance; and which the artifices of their professors, and the stupidity of the million, perpetuate from one age to another, always flattering hope, and always disappointing expectation. The quackery of physic, the chicane of law, the gross delusions of popular superstition, were con-
tinual

tinual themes of ridicule with the Prussian monarch, who, though he appeared as the champion of the protestant cause against the bigotry of the House of Austria, as Philip had been appointed the minister of Apollo's vengeance against the impious Phocians, yet despised as much as did the Macedonian prince, the coarse engines with which he condescended to operate on vulgar credulity. Of his reign throughout, it was the invariable aim to simplify the principles, and abridge the proceedings, of law; and notwithstanding the perverseness of his education, and the contagious company of French infidels, he still admired the modest yet sublime genius of primitive Christianity, and laboured to diminish the influence of priestcraft, its worst enemy.

From opposite motives, and with equal zeal, with which those enlightened princes opposed the pernicious frauds of busy idleness, they exerted themselves most earnestly and most indefatigably, to promote the useful operations of productive industry. The same ardent spirits who were deemed the companions and friends of the soldiers, were beloved and respected as the guardians of the peasantry and the poor. With their own hands they gave the salutary example of rural labours; and condescended to direct and

Their enlightened encouragement of productive industry.

assist the humble industry of the miner and mechanic. Estimating things by their intrinsic worth, not by their appearance or their name, Frederick valued the most obscure labourer as a person more important to the state, than the supercilious hypocrisy of the most dogmatical Theologian, who with meekness and charity in his mouth, conceals pride and interest in his heart; or the ostentatious garrulity of the petulant lawyer, and ever promising financier, whose boasted dexterity, admired by the multitude, enables them at best but to confound sense, pervert justice, and array in the garb of science arts of a similar kind, and only something worse than the pilfering tricks of the pedlar.

Their
amuse-
ments and
luxury.

Both Philip and Frederick were passionately fond of musical and dramatic entertainments; they delighted in the company of men of wit and humour; and as such men in Greece and Macedon were often buffoons and parasites, Philip has been arraigned by the severity of Theopompus for profligate extravagance of his companions. As both princes loved wine, and indulged habitually in the social pleasures of the table, Philip was accused as a drunkard, and Frederick as an epicure; the keen eye of malice discerning on both occasions alike, that specific calumny, which would most offend

or

or disgust their respective contemporaries. But admitting that in such matters the Prussian, as well as the Macedonian, trespassed the bounds of manly austerity, and even deviated into the scrupulous delicacy of excessive refinement, yet it must be remembered, that both princes well knew that what is vice in men of moderate fortunes, because in them it leads to ruin, is elegance in a wealthy nobleman; and that what would be extravagance in a nobleman, however wealthy, is magnificence in a great monarch. To a king, the expences of a table and of an opera are paltry considerations; it is the dissipation of a court, not the personal luxury of the prince, that can oppress the people; and however sumptuously Philip and Frederick might fare, and however elegantly they enjoyed private life, the costliness of their domestic establishments never affected those great principles which regulated their public administration. At their keen and discerning glance, the pompous science of political œconomy, which has been the object of so many laws, and the subject of so many elaborate dissertations, shrunk into one simple and universal principle, "Produce much, and consume less than you produce." By encouraging industry and discouraging luxury; by equally pro-

protecting all ranks of the community, but especially patronising that portion which forms and perpetuates the strength and populousness of the state, the salutary purposes of national prosperity were more effectually promoted in Macedon and Brandenburgh, in proportion to the means of improvement which those countries enjoyed, than they have ever been attained elsewhere, by the perplexed intricacies of finance, and the operose regulations of police.

Transiti-
on to their
system of
political
æconomy.

It has been observed, that the best gardeners abound in the worst climates; and by a modified application of this remark, we may affirm, that kingdoms, the most highly favoured in the distribution of natural advantages, are generally the worst governed. In some of those kingdoms, the most liberal and the most enlightened, but where wickedness and wretchedness are strangely contrasted with opulence and greatness, the resources of the body politic seem not to be considered as correlative with the united faculties of its component members; since government, instead of being only solicitous to replenish the common source, is obliged to employ still more care to convey the rich fluid into its particular cistern; although greater talents surely are required to make a nation flourish
in

in resources, than can ever be supposed necessary to make it pay taxes. Taxes, as generally imposed and applied, are contributions from the public, and sometimes one portion of the public, to supply the luxury of another, and to protect the safety of the whole. The latter object may be openly professed, and for the most part readily accomplished, since men who are able, will commonly be willing, to pay for their own defence; but to pamper the riot of extravagance, to feed the idle retinue of vice and folly, or to blazon in gold or diamonds the effrontery of prostitution, for such unworthy purposes the most unfeeling impudence cannot require the hard-earned bread of the labourer, without disguising what it would be dangerous to avow, melting the tax into the price, rendering passion, and even the ruinous passion for play, a productive source of revenue, and thus stealing from public ignorance, what cannot be demanded from public justice. The abuses resulting from one system of government may be more flagrant than those congenial to another; and certainly the worst abuses of liberty speculatively disappear in contemplation of that inestimable benefit: But if the poor labourer is unnecessarily deprived of the fruits of his industry,

try, it little matters in fact, whether he is cheated or robbed, except that the generous robber will sometimes be contented with a part; whereas to satisfy the deceitful purloiner, and his endless train of instruments and accomplices, the wretched tributary must relinquish his whole stock; and while he boasts, perhaps, the glorious freedom of his constitution, must submit to an alternative of the meanest or severest slavery, depend on charity for his daily bread, or subject his body to incessant toil; while he condemns his children to premature drudgery, destructive to health, and ruinous to morals.

Their natural and cordial administration.

Under the natural and cordial administration of Philip and of Frederick (for such epithets belong to monarchy when the king is a guardian and a father), the happiness of the subject was associated with the glory of the prince; and the greatest pride of the prince arose from the prosperity of the people. Their industry, attachment, and valour were his opulence and grandeur; his talents and his treasury formed their ornament and support. The principal luxury of those enlightened princes was that of social festivity and learned elegance, which, like charity, seldom exceeds the limits prescribed by prudence

prudence, not that of vain pageantry and frivolous ostentation, whose profusion is unbounded.

With a view to gratify their ambition of foreign conquest, without domestic oppression, Frederick and Philip interchanged the customary institutions of their respective ages; the one by reviving a practice ancient and almost forgotten, the other by anticipating futurity. The well-known custom of funding, which in modern times has been carried to such excess as threatens to overturn the governments which it was meant to uphold, was first invented by the Macedonian; and in his peculiar situation, proved useful. With the money which he borrowed at comparatively low interest from the commercial and wealthy Greeks, he not only augmented his army and embellished Macedon, but facilitated his intrigues in Greece, and finally achieved its conquest. Frederick, on the other hand, convinced of the powerful energy of ready money, kept always a year's advance in his exchequer, and is one of the few princes in latter times, who amassed a rich treasury. His pay was moderate, but punctual; it was not by the splendour of their expence, that he wished his ministers to shine in foreign courts, or his magistrates to be distinguished at home:

his

his magazines of arms and ammunition were purchased with half the sums consumed in the preparations of his enemies; his country was disburdened of an unproductive crowd employed in the neighbouring states to administer the public debts; and the king had always money at command, to perform seasonably the great functions of the statesman, without whose vigilant interposition, he well knew, that whatever dreaming theorists might pretend, little advancement could be made towards national prosperity.

Their vigilance and activity,

In his youth, Frederick had refuted the pernicious tenets of Machiavel; in his advanced years, he took up the pen to expose the fashionable but absurd doctrine of Materialism: But the transactions of his whole life arraign the extravagance of that oeconomical system, invented by the false subtlety of Italy*, that the state machine is capable of playing regularly, and producing the most salutary effects, without being directed by the skilful hand of the political artist. The condition of a king ought not, he supposed, to resemble that of the Epicurean deities, basking in the continual sunshine of enjoy-

* See Vico *Neapolitano Scienza nuova*, and Count Verri *Economia politica*.

ment,

ment, surrounded with unalterable delights, and only solicitous that nothing may disturb their profound sense of unvaried serenity. Instead of the secure indolence in which those fancied beings placed their imaginary happiness, the lives both of Philip and Frederick exhibit a contentious and busy scene of persevering and prosperous exertion. To the fatigues of war, succeeded the labours of peace: to found cities, to build harbours, to drain marshes, to improve waste lands, to plant them with new colonies; and according to the various exigencies of commercial intercourse, to interchange their arts, their occupations, and even their inhabitants, that the industry of one class of men might be usefully employed to excite and to cherish the industry of another: Such, during the short intervals of successful war, were the meritorious employments to which Philip and Frederick destined even the first moments of returning tranquillity, employments which cover them with more real glory than their proudest triumphs, and richest conquests.

in promoting
objects of
public
utility.

The domestic arrangements of Macedon and Brandenburg were directed by the skill, and maintained, as well as made, at the expence of their

Their un-
exampled
success in
improving
their do-
minions.

their respective sovereigns. In the annals of history it will be impossible to discover any examples of princes, confined by such limited revenues, applying so many millions to the public ornament or the public use. And yet, so prevalent is malignity and envy! this reasonable interference in the affairs of their subjects has been stigmatized as tyranny, by many Grecian and many German writers; an accusation which those illustrious monarchs might repel by the following facts. At their respective demise, their kingdoms, taken separately, exceeded the extent of 60,000 square miles. Having doubled their territories, they had likewise doubled their armies. Amidst expensive and bloody wars, Frederick had formed a treasury, and without imposing any new tax, both Philip and Frederick had trebled their revenues, and trebled the number of their formerly despised and ignorant, but now intelligent and happy subjects. Warmed by their genial influence, the wilds of Thrace and the swamps of Pomerania were converted into rich fields waving with yellow harvests, while the obscure banks of the Oder and the Axius were adorned by flourishing cities, seats of the arts, and habitations of peace. Foreign nations admired their greatness, and extolled their courage; the Prussians

Prussians and Macedonians praised their goodness, and blessed their beneficence*.

To the important concerns of education, without paying due regard to which, the effects of all public measures are precarious and transitory, Frederick directed the keenest edge of his vigilance. In the principal cities of his dominions, academies were instituted for educating the young nobles; of whom the most distinguished by talents and application were draughted to private and honourable seminaries, conducted under the king's immediate eye. In this extraordinary institution, of which Philip however had set the example, and in which he formed the men who conquered and divided the kingdoms of the East, fifteen noble youths were educated by five preceptors of chosen merit, men who had borne arms in the service of their country, who were encouraged by the king's countenance, and liberally rewarded by his munificence. For the improvement of the public and parochial schools, masters were allured from

Extraordinary attention to the education of their subjects.

* See the History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. p. 393. *et seq.* in which Alexander gives a succinct account of his father's reign. I was unwilling to crowd my page with references to my own work; but this passage, taken from Arrian, will reward the trouble of perusal.

Saxony, the Attica of Germany. By the labo-
rious countrymen of Luther, the Prussian Cal-
vinists were instructed in the doctrines of their
religion and the precepts of their duty. Letters
became as universal as they are useful; and it
was soon impossible to find a Prussian peasant who
could not both read and write. His Majesty
gave particular orders to the ministers of the gos-
pel to be careful in debarring from the commu-
nion table all those whose education as well as
morals did not appear, after repeated examinati-
ons, sufficient to entitle them to that sacred pri-
vilege.

Similarity
in the re-
lation of
those
princes to
foreign
powers.

The internal condition and domestic institu-
tions of Brandenburg were analogous to those of
Macedon; and in the relation of those countries
to neighbouring powers, in the foreign negotia-
tions of their respective princes, as well as in the
principal transactions of their illustrious reigns,
there is a resemblance equally interesting and ex-
traordinary. In material and ostensible resources
both Philip and Frederick were extremely defi-
cient; but this disadvantage was compensated by
their own intellectual excellencies, the zeal and
activity of their subjects, above all by the weak-
ness or worthlessness of their neighbours and ene-
mies. Towards the north of Macedon, the Thra-
cians

cians and Scythians, as well as the Illyrians on its western frontier, were nations fierce and warlike, but barbarous and undisciplined, impatient of subjection but incapable of union, and alike destitute of sagacity to contrive, perseverance to conduct, or means to execute any memorable enterprise. Towards the east of Philip's kingdom, the nations of lower Asia were wealthy and populous, and had long flourished in the arts of peace; but they were dissolved in luxury, and degraded by despotism. — On his southern frontier, that magnanimous prince, doubtless, encountered adversaries worthy of his arms, and experienced in the Greeks the united resistance of skill and valour. There was a Demosthenes to speak, and a Phocion to act; and other statesmen and generals well qualified to conduct, a people of soldiers and citizens in the paths of honour and security. But the unceasing animosities of contending states blinded these unfortunate republicans to the destructive designs of the common enemy; their vigour was exhausted in domestic conflicts; and their nation abounded in traitors so profligate and so daring, that the dexterity of Philip was enabled to conquer Greece by the vices of those very men whose ancestors had invincibly defended that country by their virtues.

Those of Philip;

of Freder-
rick.

In extent, in populoufness, and in wealth, the dominions of Frederick were not more considerable than those of Philip; and in contemplation of such external advantages alone, had he compared his resources with those of neighbouring powers, the prospect on all sides must have damped his ambition. Depending on his diminutive territory and scanty revenue, could he venture without the utmost imprudence to oppose the flourishing vigour of the House of Austria, the consolidated strength of France, and the growing greatness of Russia, not to mention the Swedes, famed for martial spirit, and the invidious jealousy of his nearest neighbours, the electors of Hanover and Saxony, respectively kings of England and Poland, and alike willing to exhaust the resources of their kingdoms in maintaining the cause of their electorates? Frederick had considered this vast disproportion between the smallness of his means, and the greatness of his designs; he had considered likewise that his territories, scattered at wide intervals from Courland to Brabant, and compressed on every side by warlike and hostile states, were peculiarly liable to devastation or conquest. But he perceived at the same time, that the narrow and divided districts which composed his kingdom, were peculiarly enriched by navigable rivers, adapted to
the

the transportation of arms and magazines; and that if, trusting to the sense of honour with which he had inspired the disciplined bravery of his troops, he should adopt a system of conduct as bold as his character, and instead of being contented with safety, aspire to renown, that the particular situation of his territories would enable him with singular advantage to invade the dominions of his neighbours, and to spread the terror of his name through the wide extent of Germany. The exertions of nations, he well knew, depend, not merely on the force which impels, but on the skill which directs their motions: and an attentive examination and profound knowledge of those who ruled Europe during the most important emergencies of his reign, afforded motives well fitted to encourage his resolution and embolden his confidence. In Austria, the sceptre of Charles V. had descended to a woman and a bigot, not indeed deficient in talents nor wanting in dignity, but disgraced by prejudice and often domineered by passion. The pacific tameness of Lewis XV. of France still retained him the humble pupil of Cardinal Fleury, a formal old priest, in whom caution supplied the place of humanity, and who loved peace because he dreaded war. The ostentatious vanity of Augustus III. king of Poland,

was governed by the frivolous emptiness of the perfidious Count Bruhl, who sacrificed the interests of his master to the gratification of his own passions. The indolent and voluptuous Anne, empress of Russia, regretted every hour dedicated to business as an hour lost to pleasure, and submitted the direction of her councils to whomsoever she had yielded the possession of her person. George II. of England was, indeed, a prince of undaunted courage and most exemplary probity, but his abilities corresponded not to his virtues. His punctilious littleness was better adapted to the minute detail of a German electorate, than to the distinguished part which, as sovereign of Great Britain, he was called to act on the theatre of Europe. Frederick soon discerned his excellencies and his defects; his partiality for his electorate was improved with patient assiduity; his youthful animosity to France was inflamed into implacable hatred; and at a season most critical, George, from a rival and an enemy, was converted into Frederick's most zealous and most steadfast friend.

Corresponding transactions in their reigns.

Such were the relative and external situations of the princes whose characters I have presumed to delineate; and in the principal transactions of their reigns there may also be discovered a more than

than ordinary degree of analogy. The unexpected invasion of Saxony resembles, both in its motives and in its execution, the rapid desolation of Phocis: the singular revolutions of the seven years war, during which Frederick fought and negotiated with all the powers of Europe, may be compared with that long train of military operations and political intrigues by which Philip subdued Greece; and the conquest of the Persian empire, which the father of Alexander undertook, but lived not to accomplish, splendid as that enterprize was, cannot surely be better paralleled, than by the boldness of an old man of seventy-four, born to inherit the barren sands of Brandenburg, prescribing limits to the ambition of a young emperor, fortified by his alliance with the greatest powers of the continent, and supported by the blooming resources of the House of Austria.

It is a question, which I presume not to determine, whether either Philip or Frederick excelled most in war or in negotiation. Yet in their talents for the latter, they seem to be most peculiarly distinguished from other men, and most nearly to resemble each other. In several characteristic excellencies they may, perhaps, have been equalled or surpassed; but in the impenetrable

Their
impene-
trable po-
licy;

depths of their policy, they stand alone and unrivalled. The aim of Cæsar and of Alexander was more aspiring; that of Titus and of Antonine was more laudable; but in effecting their several purposes, neither these nor any other great princes ever discovered such penetrating foresight or such patient dexterity, as appear in the conduct of Philip and of Frederick, and render a comparative view of their reigns the most engaging of all spectacles, to those who delight in surveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force or fortune, but the active energies and unfailing resources of extraordinary natural talents improved by habitual industry.

and artificial characters.

Constitutionally ardent and impetuous, these princes gradually tamed their natures; in youth, open and ingenuous, they learned closeness and circumspection from age. But the remembrance of what they once were, enabled them always to appear what they wished to seem; and completely dispassionate themselves, to controul with absolute sway the passions of other men, and render them uniformly subservient to their own purposes.

Discriminated by that cir-

Yet the policy of Philip and of Frederick, tho' that particular in which their real resemblance is the

the strongest, will for ever be employed to discriminate their characters, to paint them in colours the most different, and to distinguish them by epithets the most contradictory. The subversion of the liberties of Greece (of liberties which Greece had long been unworthy to enjoy) throws a dark shade on the fame of the Macedonian. Amidst the tumultuous licence, and profligacy almost incredible, of those degenerate republics, Philip employed without delicacy and without shame, the engines of intrigue and the arts of corruption. He seldom made a promise which he did not break, or a treaty which he did not violate; and instead of concealing his want of honesty, he boldly triumphs in his subtlety. Bribes, spies, traitors, incendiaries, false witnesses and false oaths were his usual instruments or accomplices; and when we contemplate this part of his character, we are forward to pronounce him a deceitful and unfeeling tyrant, who stuck at no means however base, and rejected no expedients however cruel, to gratify the lust of ambition by which he was devoured. But Frederick boasts with becoming dignity, that he had never deceived any man during the whole course of his life; and indeed his enemies must allow, that he seldom commenced the hostilities of fraud, or was the first to lay the snares of deceit, altho' he appears on all occasions as willing as able to encounter

encounter art with similar address; and confesses in two instances, a departure from his boasted integrity, since he avows misrepresenting to the court of St. Petersburg Prince Kaunitz's declarations respecting the division of Poland, and acknowledges putting his foot on a letter negligently dropped by the French envoy Valori, and dismissing that minister abruptly, that he might gain an opportunity of secretly reading what he had surreptitiously obtained. The conquest of Silesia, the partition of Poland, and some less memorable events of his reign, will bear very different constructions: they may be blackened by satire; they may be blazoned by panegyric. Yet, on the whole, it cannot be dissembled that, compared with the king of Macedon, Frederick is to be regarded as a prince of strict faith and exemplary probity.

That paradox explained.

Yet this advantage which *appears* so honourable to the modern prince, is *really* honourable to modern times; since in this particular, the lines of resemblance were rather distorted by situation, than essentially different. Without presuming to determine what modification Frederick's morals might have undergone, had he been the contemporary of such monsters of lust and cruelty as Chares or Olympias, we may venture

venture to affirm that Philip's transactions would have been less daring and less disgraceful, had he flourished in the eighteenth century. In the age and country where it was his lot to live, men abounded in energy, fortitude, and craft, but were strangely deficient in humanity, decency, and justice. For two centuries before and after his reign, Macedon was the theatre of perpetual revolutions, which filled the palace and the capital with civil and domestic blood. Poison and assassination were the most ordinary expedients for punishing an enemy, or removing a rival: and amidst all his artifices and intrigues, Philip is honourably distinguished by uniformly rejecting with detestation the use of the cup and the dagger. Firm in adversity, he was moderate in prosperity. When advised to destroy Athens, the seat of his most implacable adversaries, he exclaimed, "Have I done so much for glory, and shall I demolish the principal theatre of that glory!" Demosthenes, his active and inveterate enemy, long survived the decisive battle of Chæronæa; and the treaty granted by Philip to his vanquished foes after that decisive engagement, was not less generous than Frederick's treatment of Augustus III. king of Poland, when that perfidious and unrelenting adversary, after being driven from his capital and stripped of his revenues,

Character
of the age
in which
Philip
lived.

His vir-
tues re-
semble
those of
Frede-
rick.

revenues, was offered such easy conditions of peace, as he could hardly have expected to obtain before his multiplied disasters. Many prisoners taken in war, and many towns reduced by assault, experienced from Philip, a degree of lenity of which there was hardly an example in the anterior annals of the world. In the language of an ancient orator, he could digest an affront, forget injuries, and forgive insults; and in performing innumerable acts of mercy and of bounty, his favours (as happened also to Frederick) were always enhanced by the graceful or affectionate manner in which they were conferred.

Picture of
Philip's
magnani-
mity.

But should we allow, what indeed we must allow, that Philip in several, and Frederick in some few, disgraceful instances, much exaggerated however by calumny, stooped not only to the lowness of deceit, but even to the cowardice of cruelty; yet this melancholy truth would only illustrate that wonderful inconsistency incident to human nature, and even to the firmest minds. With such ignoble and degrading qualities, nothing surely can appear more incompatible, than the descriptions of the Macedonian prince, which the force of conviction often extorted from the mouth of his most exasperated foe. Even the
hatred

hatred of Demosthenes seems converted into admiration at the picture which, in order to rouse his degenerate countrymen from their lethargy, he himself draws of the magnanimity of Philip, struggling against bad fortune, repairing his disasters in one place by successes in another; wintering in the open air amidst the snows of Thrace; exposing his person in every encounter; bruised in the thigh, his eye transfixed with an arrow, yet eager to sacrifice whatever remained of his body and of his life, provided he may accomplish his purposes, and secure his renown.

The counterpart to this involuntary panegyric is to be found, and only found, in the magnanimity of Frederick; opposing during seven campaigns the confederacy of France, Sweden, Germany, and Russia; commanding one army in person, while he directed the operations of two others, and of detachments innumerable; embracing in his capacious mind the wide extent of country from the Rhine to the Niemen; amidst the actual fatigues of war, oppressed by the cares of preparation; his horses often shot under him; his body bruised by wounds, and tortured by disease, yet writing to his confidential friends, “ I find myself equal
to

Paralleled
with that
of Frede-
rick.

to all this, and dedicate my moments of leisure to the delights of philosophy; which, during his severest trials, consoled the Roman consul, the father of his country, and the best model of eloquence. I shall not, I hope, ever prove deficient in my *duty*, but remember that *fortune* is not in my power. Yet my enemies shall never triumph over me; there will always be one way left to escape their persecution."

Estimate
of their
military
glory.

In contemplating such august forms of fortitude, we forget the dreadful calamities with which these ambitious princes were reproached by their contemporaries; the demolition of cities, the desolation of provinces, thousands of men rendered miserable, or destroyed in one day by the sword. Yet to an accurate philosopher, and even to a man of plain sense and humanity, such enormities will not be sufficiently justified by observing, that these monarchs exposed their own persons as much as those of their subjects, because the danger on both sides was equal, but the reward infinitely greater on the side of the monarch. A more plausible excuse may be found in the universal admiration for military glory, and the praises bestowed by mankind rather on their destroyers than on their benefactors; yet the wisdom of Philip and of Frederick might

might have taught them to despise the vain acclamations of the vulgar. In their vindication, however, they might still urge, that their industry repaired the evils which their ambition had occasioned; that if great numbers perished in their wars, still greater were produced by their policy; that the populousness of their states increased beyond example, and almost beyond belief; and that such, unfortunately, is the constitution of human affairs, and of nature itself, that the principles of life are blended with the seeds of death; that without danger and toil, it is impossible to enjoy victory and triumph; and that war, in fine, is the mother of arts, being indispensably necessary to awaken that energy, and to excite those exertions, which alone can produce any extraordinary advancement towards national prosperity. Yet such arguments are not absolutely conclusive; because the evil was present and certain, the good distant and contingent: and I much fear, that the military glory of those renowned conquerors must not be examined too nicely, lest that which at a distance shows an inestimable diamond, prove on a nearer survey but a sparkling bauble.

The parallel here drawn is remarkable, not only for the exactness of its correspondence, but for

This parallel remarkable

for the
number
of circum-
stances
compared.

for the greatness of its extent. Between great generals and great statesmen, it is easy to find a resemblance; and the ambition of one prince is often the ambition of another. But to compare Philip and Frederick, is to delineate two men, whose individual characters would supply copious materials for a large volume of illustrious lives. Directing the minute industry of his peasants, and directing the operations of the siege of Schweidnitz, refuting the system of nature, and repelling Marechal Daun, composing the preface to the *Henriade*, and settling the peace of Germany;—Frederick engaged in these and many other seemingly incompatible occupations, appears rather a creature of fancy than a real existence, not one man, but an epitome of human industry. By the confession of Demosthenes, who surely wished not to exalt the merit of Philip, it required the gracefulness of Aristodemus, the wit of Philocrates, and, as he silently insinuates, his own eloquence, to form a parallel to the Macedonian prince. Yet how many accomplishments of that prince still remained untold, to which none of those celebrated Athenians could lay claim? His invincible fortitude, his unremitting vigilance, his unalterable presence of mind amidst the greatest difficulties and dangers; in one word, that great and complex art, the art likewise of Frederick, of
convert-

converting a barbarous and despised district into a powerful and respected kingdom. The parallel between the ancient and modern monarch is the more deserving therefore of attention, on account of the unexampled variety of circumstances of which it consists; and this variety again, considered abstractedly, forms itself the most interesting link in the whole chain of comparison.

Notwithstanding the striking coincidence in the lives of those illustrious princes, their deaths form a remarkable contrast. At the age of forty-seven, Philip perished by the hands of an assassin, while preparing to carry his arms into Asia. But his design did not perish with him, since the generals whom he had formed by his precepts and his example, subdued the monarchy of Cyrus, and divided the kingdoms of the ancient world, which were long governed by their posterity. Frederick reigned precisely as many years as Philip lived; and died at the age of seventy-five, surrounded by a new generation of friends, who attended with affectionate concern his last moments, reading, till his dull ear could hear them no longer, favourite passages of Cicero and Plutarch, which he had marked with his own hand. The last exertion of his valour and policy was employed in defending the liberties of Germany, and

Their
deaths
form a
striking
contrast.

The last
public
transacti-

ons of
Frede-
rick.

and preventing the independent and warlike states of that flourishing country from becoming tame and truckling provinces of one overgrown monarchy. For seven years before his death, his sword was sheathed, and the mildness of his setting sun, which had blazed so fiercely at its meridian, diffused beneficence and mercy, cherished public prosperity, and sustained in his warlike subjects that generous spirit of national emulation which his genius first inspired.

Reasons
for pub-
lishing the
following
narrative.

In order to justify or illustrate this Parallel, it would be necessary to describe with brevity the most memorable transactions of the two monarchs: but having formerly dedicated four chapters in my History of Ancient Greece to the reign of Philip, I shall now endeavour to comprize in nearly the same compass the reign of Frederick; employing principally the materials in his own copious Memoirs, written by that monarch at intervals of leisure from important concerns, and swelled by perpetual repetitions, yet containing much interesting information on the subjects of war and government; and exhibiting the character of its illustrious author under a point of view more respectable and more engaging than he has hitherto appeared even to the warmest of his admirers. Since the age of Plutarch, this comparative kind of writing, which, in imitation of so
great

great a model, I here presume to attempt, has been rarely, and I believe not very successfully, cultivated, though perhaps there is not any species of composition better adapted to enlarge comprehension, or sharpen discernment; to enrich the stores of fancy, or regulate the decisions of judgment. And of all parallels, the most agreeable surely, as well as the most useful, are those which embrace the memorable transactions and distinguished ornaments of ancient and modern history. In comparing men of the same age or country, or even of different ages and countries, in which the manners, like those of modern Europe, have been moulded by religion and policy into nearly the same form, the fancy is tired by a perpetual recurrence of objects and images almost identical; but in parallels of our illustrious contemporaries with men who have flourished at remote periods of antiquity, the lines of comparison converge from a larger circumference, and afford a prospect not only wider and more magnificent, but also more highly varied.

For publishing this small volume, therefore, any apology seems unnecessary; yet the two following observations may not be unseasonable. On most occasions it is imprudent to write the history of great events, or the lives of great men, till many

many years after the former happened, and the latter flourished. But the circumstances attending the reign of Frederick, are peculiar. That enlightened prince has been his own historian. His accounts of foreign affairs, indeed, are often imperfect, and sometimes erroneous; the ignorant Michel, his resident at the British court, totally misled him as to the domestic transactions of England; but in what personally concerns himself, little new information can be expected, and none more authentic than that contained in his own commentaries, which in the nature and value of their materials form the counterpart, and in their diffusive copiousness, the contrast to the commentaries of Cæsar.

In the precision of Cæsar, we recognise the sublime character of the Dictator; but we regret that he frequently relates even his battles with a brevity resembling that with which Virgil conveys the impression of beauty*. The military operations of Frederick are on the contrary involved in such a perplexity of marches and manœuvres, and loaded with such an accumulation of local circumstances, that although it would be unjust to class his descriptions with the preposterous deline-

* Pulcherrima Dido.

ation of Helen, by the Monk Constantine Manasses †, yet we may presume to compare them with the crowded picture which his admired Ariosto ‡ has given of the charms of Alcina. By the vigour of his inexhaustible fancy, that delightful poet has enlivened and rendered alluring the detached features of the fair enchantress; but all the expressive energy of his diction is unable to communicate any distinct idea of the whole original, because the most ductile imagination is incapable of joining his successive images into one simultaneous picture; and the perverse ingenuity of the poet resembles the fruitless operation of rolling stones with much labour up one side of a hill, which have no sooner reached the summit, than they tumble impetuously down the other.

† Ην ἡ γυνὴ περιβαλλὼς, εὐφρὺς, εὐχρησάτη,
Εὐπαρεῖος, εὐπρόσωπος, ἑωπία, χιτώνχρυσ.—And so on, heaping
epithet upon epithet for a dozen lines.

Constant. Manass. Chron. p. 20. Edit. Venet.

‡ Ariost. Canto vii. stanza xi.

Di persona era tanto ben formata
Quanto ne finger san pittori industri
Con bionda chioma, lunga, & annodata, &c.

Continues through five stanzas of eight lines each.

E

Yet

Yet to those who enjoy an opportunity of patiently examining the ground with Frederick's Memoirs in their hands, the circumstantial minuteness of his narrative may prove inestimably valuable, especially should they be called to head armies or command detachments in the countries which formed the glorious scene of his victories. But except by this description of men, I much fear, that his prolix account of military movements will not be generally relished, or even generally understood.—The chusing of a post, or the manœuvre of a line, depends on the vicinity of an eminence more or less elevated, the form of a ravine more or less deep, the narrowness of a defile, the shallowness of a marsh or a river, and innumerable other particularities, which it is impossible for words fully to describe, and hardly possible for plans accurately to delineate; since from attempts of this nature, books have been swelled to an immoderate size; and some of the largest plans hitherto published, have been so darkened and so crowded, that it is often fruitless and always painful to consult them. For the satisfaction however of the young soldier, who, to the spirit of his profession, adds the desire of distinction, and therefore the love of information, but who enjoys not an opportunity of accurately surveying

surveying the various countries in which the Prussians fought and conquered, it may not be an useless or ungrateful task to give a succinct, but clear and connected, view of those great and decisive operations, the scenes of which being boldly marked by the hand of nature, admit precision and perspicuity of geographical description; and which are thereby the best adapted to illustrate that sublime theory, by the judicious application of which Frederick overcame difficulties seemingly insurmountable. In the following narrative, therefore, though none of his battles are omitted; yet those only are circumstantially described, which serve to explain his improvements of the military art, and to display his consummate talents as a general.

The character of that illustrious prince deserved, and has obtained, the warmest gratitude of men of letters in every part of Europe. His personal qualities have been delineated by numerous biographers; the anecdotes of his private life have been laboriously accumulated; even the minute and transient occurrences of his reign fill many a ponderous volume. But the design of the present work is confined to those transactions in peace and war, the effects of which being ex-

tensive and permanent, communicate importance to circumstances otherwise trivial, to the figure, the air, and the demeanour, and even to the petty habits and occasional amusements of a man so extraordinary.

LONDON,
New Norfolk-Street,
30th March, 1789.



W E I V A VIEW
the submission of his new subjects. Diet of elec-
Receives
Germany. Frederick defeated the French. Con-
France respecting the distribution of power in
Maria Theresa's reign. Her views
He unites the Dutch and English. Re-
England. Napoleon's plan. Anticipated by Fre-
of Europe. Negotiations with France. With
Disposition of the courts
The campaign of 1791. The battle of Mol-
instance of Napoleon's resistance during the ruin-
tion. Frederick's resistance. Obstinacy re-
The negotiation. Botta's negotia-
Some of Prussia's necessities. Of Aus-

V I E W
OF THE
REIGN OF FREDERICK II.

C H A P. I.

State of Prussia at Frederick's accession. Of Austria. The pragmatic sanction. Botta's negotiation. Frederick invades Silesia. Obstinate resistance of Neisse. Negotiations during the winter. The campaign 1741. The battle of Mollwitz. Its consequences. Disposition of the courts of Europe. Negotiations with France. With England. Neuperg's plot. Anticipated by Frederick. He amuses the Dutch and English. Rejects Maria Theresa's overtures. Ambitious views of France respecting the distribution of power in Germany. Frederick defeats her schemes. Concludes a treaty with Maria Theresa. Receives the submission of his new subjects. Diet of election.


tion. Elector of Bavaria chosen emperor. Intrigues in the court of Saxony. Frederick invades Moravia, and then Bohemia. Battle of Czaflau. Peace of Breslaw.

CHAP. I. **A**T the death of Frederick William, his late Majesty's father, the revenues of Prussia amounted to seven millions and four hundred thousand crowns; the crown or thaler of Brandenburg being then, as it still continues, nearly equivalent to three shillings and four pence sterling. The populoufness of that kingdom scarcely exceeded 2,200,000 persons; the treasury contained 8,700,000 crowns; but Prussia lost annually by the balance of trade above the eighth part of that sum. The army consisted of 76,000 men, of whom more than one-third were foreigners. — Such were the scanty resources of a monarchy, of which the subjects were poor, and the territories unfruitful; and scattered at such distances from each other, over the wide extent of country between Courland and Brabant, that it was easy to attack, and difficult to defend them.

Of Austria.

Charles VI. was then emperor. He had just concluded an unfortunate war against the Turks, to whom he had been compelled to cede the province of Servia, part of the dutchy of Moldavia, and



and the important city of Belgrade. Endowed CHAP. I.
 with much application, Charles wanted genius. 
 He spoke different languages, and understood the public law of the empire; but he nicely adjusted the ceremonial of the court, and he was a superstitious bigot, like all * the princes of the House of Austria. Yet while Prince Eugene headed his armies and directed his councils, Charles prospered in war and negociation. But that great man, like his rivals in fame Marlborough and Condé, lost the health of his mind, before his body fell to decay. The imbecility of Prince Eugene was followed by intrigues among the Austrian courtiers, who had long envied his power without possessing any share of his merit. The voluptuous and haughty Count Zinzendorf, having obtained an ascendancy over the feeble mind of Charles, his presumption offended the Austrian nobility, and disgusted the princes of the empire. By his advice forty thousand of the best troops were disbanded, and the remainder were allowed to remain inactive in Hungary, after the peace with the Turks. Charles's whole forces amounted to 82,000 effective men, and his revenues were computed at 20,000,000 crowns. But he was loaded with debt; his finances were ill-administer-

* Such is Frederick's expression, but I do not warrant his severity.

CHAP. I. ed; his generals were at variance; and open discord prevailed among his ministers. Overwhelmed by the difficulties of his situation, the emperor often lamented the vanity of greatness; and his uneasiness of mind hastened an event highly interesting to Europe. He died the 26th of October, 1740.

The pragmatic
sanction.

Charles VI. was the last male of the House of Hapsboursgh. By a domestic settlement, disguised under the name of the pragmatic sanction, he had endeavoured to secure the inheritance of his vast dominions to his daughter Maria Theresa. This act had been guaranteed by France, England, Holland, Sardinia, Saxony, and the holy Roman empire. Frederick William, king of Prussia, acceded to the same treaty; but upon the express condition that the court of Vienna made good his right of succession to the districts of Juliers and Bergen. Instead of performing this condition, Charles VI. promised these districts successively to the elector of Saxony, and to the prince of Salzbach. At the death of Frederick William, his son Frederick II. thus found himself happily disengaged from his father's stipulation with the imperial court, and fully entitled to adopt such measures as best suited the interest of his kingdom. He raised fifteen new battalions; began

gan to embody and form his cavalry; and at the emperor's *demise*, his magazines were well furnished, his coffers full, and his troops ready to march. Having learned that important event at Reinsberg, when he was himself confined by the ague, he made use of the bark, contrary to the advice of his physicians, and hastened to undertake an enterprize, the success of which was to decide the fortune and glory of his reign.

CHAP. I.

The house of Brandenburg had incontrovertible claims to the two principalities of Silesia, which were nearly as extensive, and fully as valuable, as one half the territories which that house actually possessed. Besides the vast importance of these principalities, their situation on the eastern frontier of Brandenburg rendered their conquest less difficult than that of Juliers and Bergen; and by the boldness of invading the rich province of Silesia in the first year of his reign, Frederick hoped to rescue his family and his subjects from the reproach of tameness and pusillanimity under which they had long laboured. In the year 1727, his father had disputes with the Hanoverians, which terminated amicably, but not very honourably. In the same peaceful manner Frederick William had settled his differences with the Dutch. His moderation was construed into

Frederick's reasons for invading Silesia.

CHAP.
I.

into timidity; and neighbouring powers expected to insult him with impunity. His ambassador was disgracefully treated by an insignificant bishop of Liege. George II. of Great Britain called him his brother the corporal. His officers were considered as mere adventurers in the trade of arms; his soldiers, as vile mercenaries; and the name of Prussian seldom occurred without some contumelious jest, or some disgraceful epithet. The country itself, notwithstanding its royal appellation, formed an undescribed species of hermaphrodite monarchy, which partook rather of the meanness of an electorate, than of the dignity of a kingdom. Honour required that its doubtful rank should be decided; and this consideration was not the least powerful in precipitating an enterprise manifestly attended with great difficulties.

Difficulties attending that enterprise.

Frederick had weighed these difficulties. The powerful House of Austria, with its numerous provinces and vast resources; the formidable confederacy which had guaranteed the succession of Maria Theresa; the severity of the winter 1740, which made it difficult to keep great armies in the field; Prussia, destitute of allies, and its troops unacquainted with service, against veterans disciplined by prince Eugene, and hardened in many

many an obstinate campaign. Yet the rivallship CHAP.
 between France and England afforded reason to I.
 hope, that whoever was exposed to the resent-
 ment of one of those powers, would obtain the
 protection of the other. By the death of the
 empress of Russia, which soon followed that of
 the emperor Charles VI. the crown devolved on
 Iwan, a child, son to the princess of Mecklen-
 burgh, and prince Antony Ulric of Brunswick,
 brother-in-law to his Prussian Majesty. The
 prince was weak, the princess was capricious,
 and Munich, the true hero of Russia, was mas-
 ter of the government. To him Frederick dis-
 patched Winterfeld, who had married his daugh-
 ter; the negotiation was successful; and Russia
 was prepared for the events ready to be transacted.

Notwithstanding many precautions for conceal-
 ment, the forming of magazines, the prepar-
 ing of cannon, and the movement of troops
 naturally excited suspicion. Mr. Damrath,
 the Austrian minister at Berlin, apprised his
 court that a storm threatened, which he much
 feared would burst on Silesia. The queen's
 council replied from Vienna, "We cannot cre-
 dit your intelligence." The Marquis Botta,
 however, arrived at Berlin to compliment Frede-
 rick in the name of Maria Theresa, and, if possible,
 to

Botta's
negotia-
tion.

CHAP. I. to penetrate his designs. The artful Italian discovered at once the project in agitation; and after congratulating Frederick on his accession, expatiated on the bad roads through Silesia. The king only replied, "That those who had to travel such roads must expect to have their boots bespattered."

The Prussians invade Silesia, December 1740.

Though immovably fixed in his plan, Frederick had sent Count Gotter to Vienna, to declare to the queen, that should his master obtain satisfaction respecting his pretensions to Silesia, that prince would engage to assist her Majesty against her enemies, and to raise her husband the Great Duke of Tuscany to the Imperial throne. As it was foreseen that this proposal would be rejected, twenty battalions and thirty-six squadrons already covered the Silesian frontier; they were followed by six battalions destined to block up the fortress of Glogau, the first place of strength in their way along the western bank of the Oder. Before his departure to join these troops, Frederick gave audience to the marquis Botta, who with the vivacity of an Italian exclaimed, "Sire, you are going to ruin the house of Austria, and at the same time to ruin yourself." The king replied, "Your mistress may, if she pleases, obtain my assistance on equitable conditions." The

marquis

marquis became thoughtful, but soon starting CHAP.
 from his reverie, observed in a tone of irony,
 “Your troops, Sire,” I acknowledge it, “are
 fine; but ours have seen the enemy.—Reflect
 in time, I beseech you.” Frederick rejoined,
 “my troops, you say, are fine, and you will
 soon know that they are brave.” Botta reiterat-
 ed his supplications; but Frederick told him,
 “That they had already passed the Rubicon.”

The invasion of Silesia being made known at Frede-
rick's
speech to
his offi-
cers, De-
cember
1740.
 Berlin, excited the murmur of discontent, and
 the terror of despondency. To remove these
 dangerous impressions, which were encouraged
 chiefly by the prince of Anhalt, who had ad-
 ministered the government during the late reign,
 Frederick assembled the officers of the garrison,
 and addressed them as follows: “In the war
 which I undertake, my only allies are your af-
 fection and valour. Our cause is just; and our
 resources are in fortune. Remember the honour-
 able exertions of your ancestors in the plains of
 Warsaw, and the field of Fehrbellin. Your des-
 tiny depends on yourselves: honours and rewards
 await your meritorious exploits. We are going
 to contend with troops, that under prince Eu-
 gene acquired well-earned renown; and our glo-
 ry, that object which is ever in your view, and
 which

CHAP. which is alone worthy of your labours, our
 I. glory will be the greater, because we are called to
 fight against brave men. Go! I will soon follow
 you to the scene of triumph that awaits us."

Leaves
 Berlin,
 December
 1740.

The king left Berlin, after giving a masked ball, and arrived at Crossen the 21st of December. That day, the bell of the cathedral happened to fall; an event considered as highly inauspicious. But Frederick turned this accident to his advantage, by observing, "That it plainly denoted the bringing low that which was exalted; and what could be more exalted than the House of Austria?" Whoever knows the people, will understand the efficacy of such an argument.

Enters
 Silesia,
 December
 23.

The troops marched in divisions. The severity of the winter prevented their encampment. As they advanced, they were careful every where to proclaim the rights of the House of Brandenburg; and at the same time a manifesto was published, setting forth that the Prussians took possession of Silesia to prevent its being occupied by a third claimant. The Silesians were thus taught to consider the Prussian army in the light of friends, an opinion strengthened by religion, since two-thirds of that people were Protestants, who had long felt the oppression of Austrian bigotry.

Having

Having advanced as far as Glogau, the Prussians CHAP. I.
 blockaded that place, the severe frost preventing
 a formal siege. Wenzel Wallis, the governor,
 had orders from Vienna not to be the aggressor;
 and, as if he had thought that to blockade was
 not to commit hostilities, he patiently allowed
 himself to be shut up within his ramparts.
 Meanwhile general Braun had been sent to the
 defence of Silesia, and with 3000 men attempted
 to surprise Breslaw, the capital; which, being in-
 vested with the privileges of an Imperial city,
 formed a little republic apart, governed by its
 own magistrates, and exempted from the main-
 tenance of a garrison. The prince of Anhalt hav-
 ing arrived at Glogau with six battalions and five
 squadrons, the king relieved the troops employed
 in the blockade, and marched towards Breslaw
 with his whole grenadiers, six battalions, and ten
 squadrons. At the end of four days he appeared
 before its gates, while marechal Schwerin pro-
 ceeded along the foot of the mountains by Leig-
 nitz, Schweidnitz, and Franckenstein, in order to
 drive the enemy from those parts.

The ditches of Breslaw were frozen: the citi- His pro-
 zens had every reason to fear an assault; and the gress in
 Prussians were already masters of both sides of the that
 Oder. It was necessary to crave a capitulation;
 the

CHAP. the formalities of which were abridged by the en-

I.

thusiasm of a Lutheran shoemaker, who having stirred up the religious fury of the populace, compelled the magistrates to sign an act of neutrality with the Prussians, and to open their gates. Having entered the city, the king immediately dismissed all persons in office under the queen of Hungary; a measure necessary for preventing secret intrigues with the townsmen. His Majesty left a regiment in Breslaw, and directed his march to Ohlau. The walls of that town were not in a state of defence; the castle capitulated. The other places along the Oder were either taken or blocked up. But the city of Neisse made a vigorous resistance. It is situate on a river of the same name, which forms the separation between Upper and Lower Silesia. The severity of the weather prevented a regular siege; and the activity of Roth, the governor, rendered an assault impracticable. Every morning he caused break the ice which covered the ditches; he poured water on the ramparts, which froze immediately; and he provided the bastions and curtains with beams armed with scythes. The Prussians attempted to bombard the place; 1200 bombs and 3000 red-hot balls were expended in vain. The king therefore cantoned his troops around Neisse, while mareschal Schwerin, with seven battalions and ten squadrons

Obstinate
resistance
of Neisse.

squadrons overran the western frontier, and dislodged general Braun from Jagendorf, Troppau, and the castle of Graetz. The Austrians retreated into Moravia; the Prussian quarters were extended to Jablunka, on the frontiers of Hungary.

Meanwhile count Gotter still negotiated at Vienna. His commission appeared an ænigma to the foreign powers, who could not reconcile his residence in that capital with the hostile invasion of Silesia. The courtiers of the queen of Hungary told him, "It ill became his master, whose duty it had been in quality of arch-chamberlain of the empire to present the basin to the hands of Maria Theresa's father, to prescribe laws to the daughter." Gotter, not yielding in pride, showed publicly in council a letter, in which his Prussian majesty had said, "If the Great Duke is determined on ruin, let him be ruined." That prince was disconcerted; but the count Kinsky, chancellor of Bohemia, the most presumptuous man in a court where arrogance had fixed her throne, took up the word, treated Gotter's propositions as insults, reanimated the courage of his master, and prevailed on him to break off the negotiation. Robinson, the English envoy at Vienna, maintained that the king of Prussia ought to be reprobated as a politician. But the king, by means of Win-

CHAP. terfeld, had concluded a defensive alliance with

I.

Russia. To a letter which he had written to cardinal Fleury, that minister returned a very favourable answer. Sweden, which was strictly allied with France, had sent troops into Finland. Prussia's greatest enemies were as usual, its nearest neighbours, the kings of Poland and England, respectively electors of Saxony and Hanover. These princes having regained Russia by their intrigues, entered into a treaty for dividing the Prussian dominions; and while they declaimed against the ambition of the young king, they pleased their imaginations with the appropriation of his territories. This was the crisis at which the queen of Hungary might have obtained honourable terms of accommodation. The cession of the duchy of Glogau would have fully satisfied Frederick, and procured her the assistance of that prince against all her enemies.

Preparations for the campaign 1741.

Having put his troops into their winter quarters, the king returned to Berlin, to make the necessary dispositions for the ensuing campaign. A reinforcement of ten battalions and twenty-five squadrons was sent to the army in Silesia; and to overawe Saxony and Hanover, a camp containing thirty battalions and forty squadrons, was formed at Genthin, in the duchy of Magdebourg, a place
conve-

February 1741.

conveniently situate for invading either of those CHAP
electorates. The Austrians on their side were not I
idle. Marechal Neupe g, who had been detain-
ed in prison at Brunn since the peace of Belgrade,
was appointed to command their army. He as-
sembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Ol-
mutz in Moravia, and detached general Lentu-
lus to occupy the gorges of the mountains in the
principality of Gratz, a position that enabled him
to cover Bohemia, and to co-operate, when neces-
sary, with the forces destined to reconquer Silesia.

The Austrian hussars soon became troublesome; Frederick
advanced between the Prussian posts, intercepted narrowly
convoys, and cut off small detachments. In their escapes
skirmishes they generally prevailed over the king's falling
newly formed cavalry, but his infantry always into the
maintained its honour unimpaired. The Prussian hands of
reinforcements having arrived at Schweidnitz, his the ene-
Majesty determined to examine the quarters of my,
his troops, in a country with which he was as yet
unacquainted. The enemy were informed of his
design, and prepared to intercept him. By mis-
take they fell in with a party of dragoons at Baum-
garten, which they defeated. His Majesty heard
the report of fire-arms at Wartha, and hastened to
the scene of action. But arriving after the en-
gagement, he had leisure to reflect on the folly of

CHAP. I. his enterprize; since, had his person been seized by a party far superior to his own, Maria Theresa would have finished the war without striking another stroke.

Takes
Glogau,
March 9.

The towns of Glogau and Brieg on the Oder were still blocked up, and the season was not sufficiently advanced to convert either blockade into a siege. Meanwhile the Austrians were continually reinforced by new troops, and it was suspected that they would soon attempt to surprise the Prussians in their cantonments, by penetrating through Glatz or Zukmantel. The king gave orders for contracting his quarters, and ordered prince Leopold of Anhalt to assault Glogau in nine places at once. The town was taken in the space of an hour; the cavalry having penetrated within the ramparts. Wallis, together with his garrison, became prisoners of war. None of the citizens were insulted, no house was plundered; the Prussian discipline shone in its full lustre.

The Aus-
trians take
the field.

The king's troops however were still too much scattered to be collected seasonably. The quarters of mareschal Schwerin, in Upper Silesia, were the most exposed. The mareschal wrote the king, That if joined by a small reinforcement, he would promise to maintain his post. Frederick weakly yielded

yielded to his opinion, and adding rashness to facility, put himself at the head of eight squadrons and nine battalions, and met the mareschal at Neustadt. The first question was, "What news of the enemy?"—"None," replied Schwerin, "except that their troops are dispersed along the Silesian frontiers, from the northern confines of Hungary to Braunau in Bohemia, and I expect every moment the return of my spies."—Next day, the king advanced towards Jagerndorf, on his road to open the trenches before Neisse, where he expected the arrival of seventeen battalions and fourteen squadrons. His majesty was on the point of his departure, and just giving his last orders to the mareschal, when seven Austrian dragoons were brought to him. These deserters had left the enemy's cavalry at Freudenthal, about six miles distant, where their infantry and cannon were likewise expected, with which they meant to traverse the quarters of the Prussians, and to compel them to retire from Neisse. Meanwhile the noise of fire-arms was heard, and every one believed that the van-guard of Mr. Neuperg's army had already assaulted Jagerndorf, which contained but five battalions, five pieces of cannon, and forty charges of gunpowder. This however was a false alarm. The assailants consisted of some light troops, which had been sent to reconnoitre the

CHAP. the Prussian quarters, for which purpose they advanced skirmishing to the gates of every town which they supposed in possession of the enemy.

Prepara-
tions for
battle.

The king perceived the necessity of assembling his army with all possible expedition. The blockade of Brieg was raised. The duke of Holstein, who was at Franckenstein, had orders to join his Majesty. From the second of April to the tenth, the hostile armies kept in the neighbourhood of each other, following for the most part parallel lines of march, and both descending the Oder towards Brieg. It had snowed for several days, and the snow was sometimes so thick, that it was impossible to distinguish objects at twenty yards distance. The Prussians were in danger of losing their magazines at Ohlau and Breslaw; and, if defeated in battle, they had not any means of retreat. On the tenth of April, which was clear and serene, their army, consisting of twenty-seven battalions, twenty-nine squadrons, and three regiments of hussars, marched in five columns, the artillery in the middle, the divisions of infantry on each side, and the cavalry on the wings. In this order they advanced towards Ohlau, having learned that the enemy were cantoned in the neighbouring villages of Molwitz, Grunigen, and Huneren. As the king was greatly inferior in cavalry,

cavalry, he had mixed in the wings two battalions of grenadiers. When the army approached within two thousand paces of Molwitz, his Majesty acknowledges, that instead of marching briskly to surprise the enemy in their cantonments, he injudiciously employed near two hours in extending his columns, and forming his line of battle. According to the disposition which he planned, his right wing ought to have rested on the village of Herrendorf, and the left to have been flanked by the rivulet of Lauchwitz, which was bordered by a marsh. But on the right, the cavalry not having extended themselves to Herrendorf, the infantry had not room to form; this obliged the king to withdraw three battalions from the first line, with which reserve he covered the right flank of his infantry; a disposition produced by necessity, yet one principal cause of his victory.

Mareschal Neuperg, though he had ordered his hussars to explore the country, particularly on the road to Brieg, had not any intelligence of the king's approach, until he saw his army formed in order of battle opposite to his cantonments. He was obliged to extend his line under the fire of the Prussian cannon. The cavalry commanded by Ræmer, were the first in the field. That intelligent officer perceived that Schulenburg, who

The battle of Molwitz, 10th April, 1741.

com-

CHAP. I. commanded the Prussian cavalry on the right, wheeled his squadrons a quarter circle to reach the village of Herrendorf, by which he exposed his left flank. During this injudicious manœuvre, Ræmer attacked them without waiting to form; and with his thirty Austrian, easily repelled the ten Prussian squadrons, and threw them into disorder. Their rout would have occasioned that of the infantry, had not the latter fired on the fugitives.—This fire, by which Ræmer was slain, made the enemy's cavalry retire, and the two battalions of grenadiers, which had been mixed with Schulenbourg's squadrons, bravely maintained their ground, and formed in regular order on the right of the infantry. The king, who says that he thought to rally his cavalry as easily as he could have collected a pack of hounds, was carried along in their rout to the centre of the army. Having assembled a few squadrons, he brought them back to the right. It was now their turn to charge the enemy. But troops recently defeated, and hastily assembled, rarely hold firm. Their onset was feeble; they were speedily dispersed, and Schulenbourg was slain. The Austrian cavalry now attacked the right flank of the Prussian infantry. Three desperate charges were repelled. The Austrian officers fell dead or wounded among the ranks. By thrusts of the bayonet, the Prus-

fians

fians overturned the enemy's horsemen, who per- CHAP.
 rished in great numbers. Meanwhile, the Aus- I.
 trian infantry advanced, and made incredible ef-
 forts to break the king's troops. These troops
 however, and particularly the three battalions
 which had been withdrawn from the line, and
 which now greatly strengthened the flank, resist-
 ed like a rock, and by their well-directed fire
 thinned the enemy's ranks. The Austrian fire
 continued five hours with great vivacity; and the
 Prussians, who had exhausted their ammunition,
 were in danger of being obliged to surrender for
 want of gunpowder.—In this extremity, they
 stripped the dead of their cartridges, and not only
 maintained their ground, but advanced on their
 adversaries. Meanwhile the Prussian cavalry had
 been victorious on the left. In the beginning of
 the action, that wing which was covered by the
 marshy banks of the Lauchwitz had been kept in
 reserve; and mareschal Schwerin watched the
 opportunity of attacking the enemy's right flank,
 which being obtained, finally decided the issue of
 this battle. The Austrians were totally routed,
 and driven to the village of Lauchwitz, where
 darkness terminated the pursuit.

This engagement, which involved the fate of Its conse-
 Silesia, cost the queen of Hungary 7000 men, quences.
 besides

CHAP. I. besides 180 officers, seven pieces of cannon, and three standards. The Prussians took 1200 prisoners; having lost in the action 2500 men killed, and 3000 wounded. The first battalion of guards lost the half of its officers; and of 800 men, of which it consisted, 180 only remained in a condition to do duty.

Brieg capitulates
April 23.

While Neuperg fled beyond the Neisse, the king determined to profit of his victory, by forming the siege of Brieg, which capitulated eight days after the opening of the trenches. In order to fill up those trenches, and to victual the place, the army continued three weeks in the camp at Molwitz; which interval was employed in exercising the cavalry, and in teaching them to manœuvre with rapidity. They were frequently sent out in detached parties, to familiarise them with the varieties of ground, and to accustom them to adapt their evolutions to local circumstances. At the head of one of these detachments, Winterfeld, who had so skilfully negotiated in Russia, surprised and defeated general Parany at Rothschlot, and took 300 prisoners. In several other encounters, the Prussians were equally fortunate; and their success was much owing to their enjoying the favour of the country, and thereby acquiring good intelligence. But we forbear relating such exploits,

Successes
of the
Prussians.

exploits, because it is our intention to describe the conquest of Silesia, not the operations of hussars.

CHAP.

I.

The battle of Molwitz, in which the Austrian veterans had been defeated by raw troops, occasioned much astonishment in the empire; it excited the indignation and resentment of the court of Vienna, which prepared to reinforce Mr. Neuperg; it produced terror and dismay in the kings of England and Poland, who respected the camp at Genthaim, which they had hitherto affected to despise, and in France, on the other hand, the success of Frederick afforded much joy, because to the politicians of that country, the time seemed now fast approaching, when the house of Bourbon might finally overwhelm the envied greatness of Austria. The marshal Belleisle, who was to take charge of the affairs of France at the diet of election to be held at Frankfort, came to the camp of Molwitz, and proposed a treaty of alliance with the king, for dismembering the Austrian dominions, and raising the elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne. By this treaty, which was written, but not ratified (Frederick being unwilling hastily to conclude matters of such high moment), France stipulated to send two armies into Germany; one to support the nomination of the elector of Bavaria, and the other to overawe the Saxons

Sentiments with which the courts of Europe viewed these events.

Frederick's negotiations with France;

and

CHAP. and Hanoverians. Sweden, the ally of France,
 I was likewise to be engaged in the quarrel, in order to furnish such occupation to the Russians on their own frontiers, as might prevent them from interfering in the affairs of Germany. Belleisle was a true Frenchman, and talked as if the Austrian dominions had been already conquered. One day appearing in the king's presence more thoughtful than usual, his Majesty asked him, whether he had received any bad news? "Not at all," replied the mareschal; "but the thought that embarrasses me, Sire, is, what we shall make of Moravia." The king proposed giving it to Saxony, in order to allure the king of Poland into the great alliance; a measure highly approved by the mareschal, and afterwards carried into execution.

with The negotiations of Prussia were not confined
 England. to France; they extended to England, Holland, and all Europe. George II. sent two ministers to the Prussian camp; Lord Hyndford for England, and Mr. Schwichelt for Hanover. Though employed by the same prince, these ministers had quite different instructions. The Hanoverian proposed that the neutrality of his master should be purchased by the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Osnaburg, and some districts in Mecklenbourg. The Englishman offered his good offices to mediate

diate a reconciliation between the powers at war, and to procure for Prussia some districts in Lower Silesia. Schwichelt was more jealous of Hyndford, than he was of the mareschal Belleisle, and requested most earnestly that his negotiation should be concealed from the English minister. In Russia, Finch, the envoy of George II. blew up the flame of discord; and, by the intrigues of the same prince, the Dutch were persuaded to write a letter to the king of Prussia, exhorting him to withdraw his troops from Silesia.

CHAP. I.

This duplicity in the court of England determined the king to conclude his treaty with France, to which two articles were added; 1. That the French should take the field before the end of August: 2. That the treaty should be concealed until the publishing it occasioned no detriment to the king's affairs. This precaution was necessary; for the hostile intentions of Russia had already become manifest; 6000 Danes and as many Hessians had been hired by English money to join the Hanoverians, who had been encamped since the month of April; and the Saxons prepared to reinforce the same army. In order to gain time for the arrival of French succours, it was necessary to amuse the English and Hanoverian ministers. His Majesty succeeded in this design, by allowing the

Reason of
Frederick's
concluding a
treaty with
France,
June
1741.

CHAP. the treaty to be brought nearly to a conclusion,
 I. and then throwing in some new difficulty;
 which he pretended not to have foreseen, and for
 the removal of which, fresh instructions were ne-
 cessary from the British court.

Neu- The camp, which had thus assumed the air of
 perg's a congress, was moved to the heights of Strehlen,
 plot for by which position it was enabled to draw its pro-
 gaining visions from Breslaw, and to cover the Lower Sile-
 Breslaw, sias. During two months that the army continued
 August in this post, Frederick raised recruits and collected
 '741. horses; and did both with such success, that his
 troops were rendered as complete as at the com-
 mencement of the campaign. Meanwhile Mr.
 Neuperg, who had formed an impregnable camp
 in the neighbourhood of Neisse, meditated a design,
 which, had it not been seasonably discovered,
 might have changed the fortune of the campaign.
 In the cheap and remote town of Breslaw, there
 were many superannuated females, whose relations
 lived at Vienna, and who, from the bigotry of
 superstition, and the acrimony of religious hatred,
 were continually devising means for expelling the
 heretics from Silesia. In their conventicles held
 for that purpose, Frederick contrived to introduce
 a false sister, by whose vigilance he learned that
 Neuperg meant to decoy him from Breslaw, and
 then

then return thither by forced marches, and make himself master of the town. CHAP. I.

To anticipate this disaster, which would have not only separated the Prussians from their magazines, but intercepted the communication which, by means of the Oder, they maintained with Brandenburg, Frederick required the presence of the magistrates of Breslaw in his camp. Several Prussian detachments marched by different routes towards the suburbs of that place. Free passage was demanded for a regiment, which entered by one gate, while the breaking down of a cart embarrassed another. The Prussians thus made themselves masters of the town without committing the smallest disorder; and the inhabitants swore allegiance to his Majesty. Mr. Neuperg had advanced as far as Frankenstein, in order to make the king retire from Breslaw; but finding his plot anticipated, he endeavoured to surprise the Prussian magazine at Schweidnitz, which design likewise miscarried.

Anticipated by Frederick, who makes himself master of that capital, August 7.

The success of the Prussian arms, and the terror inspired by the French, who by this time had passed the Rhine, humbled the pride of the Austrian ministers; who dispatched Mr. Robinson, British envoy at Vienna, to try the effect of negotiation.

The British minister negotiates with Frederick in favour of Maria Theresa.

In

CHAP. I. In the name of Maria Theresa, that minister offered his Majesty the town of Limburgh, Spanish Gelderland, and two millions of crowns, on condition that he immediately caused his troops to evacuate Silesia, and resigned for ever his pretensions to that duchy. Robinson was an enthusiastic admirer of the queen of Hungary, and negotiated, or rather harangued, in her favour with as much emphasis and boldness as he would have spoke in the House of Commons. The king, who saw ridiculous characters in their true light, assumed the same tone, and replied, "That princes devoid of honour bartered their rights for money; that such a proposal was an insult to his own feelings; and that even his army would think him unworthy to command them, should his weakness disgracefully resign what their valour had gloriously acquired. Without the blackest ingratitude, can I abandon the numerous Protestants in Silesia to the bigoted rage of their oppressors? Can I cede the inheritance of those rights delivered down from my ancestors, without subjecting my name to the eternal reproach of posterity? No! I will rather perish with my whole army in the field of battle.—This, Sir, is the only answer that honour allows me to give you."

Having

Having thus dismissed the enthusiast in consternation at an enthusiasm still bolder than his own, Frederick continued studiously to flatter lord Hyndford, and to amuse England and Holland. To these maritime powers he communicated the queen of Hungary's proposal, made by Mr. Robinson, and excused his rejecting it, by saying, that he knew too well the importance of the Barrier Treaty to have accepted, instead of Limburgh and Spanish Gelderland, even Brabant itself, had the queen thought proper to make that offer.

CHAP.

I.

Frederick
amuses
the Dutch
and Eng-
lish.

About this time Frederick purchased from the elector of Bavaria, to whom he promised his vote at the ensuing diet, the mountainous principality of Glatz, for 400,000 crowns. It is worthy of observation, that the elector had never enjoyed possession of the country which he thus sold. By the same treaty, Bavaria guaranteed Silesia to the king of Prussia, and his Majesty guaranteed Upper Austria, the Tyrol, Brisgau, and Bohemia to the elector.

Purchases
the country
of Glatz
from the
elector of
Bavaria.

Meanwhile an important event happened in the north. Sweden having undertaken a war against Russia, retarded and rendered doubtful the assistance which the kings of England and Poland expected from that empire. Disappointed in his

King of
Poland
enters
into a
league
with
France
and Prus.

G

hopes

CHAP. hopes of dividing the Prussian dominions with
 I. his neighbour, the elector of Saxony, Augustus III.
 fia; Au- adopted a new system, and entered into the league
 gust 31, for destroying the House of Austria. In return
 1741. for his assistance towards accomplishing this design,
 he obtained a promise of Moravia and Obermann-
 hartlsberg, which districts were to be erected into
 a kingdom. The empress queen, alarmed by
 these projects, sent back her English negotiator
 to the Prussian camp, carrying with him a map of
 Silesia; on which the cession of four principalities
 had been marked with a stroke of ink. He was
 received coldly, and dismissed contemptuously.
 The enemies of Prussia had held themselves too
 sure of the assistance of Russia, by means of which
 they expected to compel his Majesty to crave
 peace on his knees; but such are the sports of
 fortune, that almost the reverse happened.

Frederick The French and Bavarian armies began their
 rejects operations with vigour. Having invaded Upper
 Maria Austria, they proceeded to the neighbourhood of
 Theresa's Lintz, the capital; while Frederick, co-operating
 overtures. strenuously with his allies, made a bold attempt
 to intercept Mr. Neuperg from Neisse. But this
 enterprise having failed in the execution, his Ma-
 jesty advanced to Neudorf, and secured his com-
 munication with Brieg by occupying the posts of
 Loewen

Loewen and Michelau. The success of the allies CHAP.
I.
increased the consternation of the court of Vienna; and Maria Theresa, by means of lord Hyndford, renewed her negotiations with the king, in such terms as showed that she wished earnestly to appease the resentment of one of her enemies. She resigned the conquered principalities in Silesia, and offered to cede even the town of Breslaw, desiring only to retain that of Neisse; and in return for such important sacrifices, craved that Frederick would assist her with the whole force of his kingdom, thus greatly enlarged at her expence. Frederick regretted to lord Hyndford the necessity of rejecting these offers; because he could not violate a treaty which he had just concluded with France and Bavaria.

The Swedes proved less fortunate than the other allies, a detachment of 12,000 men being cut off by the Russians near Willmanstrand; a severe check for a kingdom which had languished in debility ever since the ruinous and romantic reign of Charles XII. To compensate for this disaster of her confederates, France purposed sending marshal Maillebois with an army which he commanded in Westphalia, to invade the electorate of Hanover; a measure which was thwarted by Frederick, who persuaded them to direct their arms against the queen of Hungary. His Majesty, how-

Ambitious views of France respecting the distribution of power in Germany, 1741.

CHAP. ever, did not wish that the French should obtain too firm a footing in Germany, nor even that the pre-eminence of Maria Theresa, in that country, should be reduced to nothing. The advantage which he proposed to himself in undertaking this war was to conquer Silesia; and his engagements with France and Bavaria were only relative to this object. But these powers and their allies had a very different end in view. Having destroyed the supremacy of Austria, they purposed to raise on its ruins four subordinate kingdoms, which might balance each other, while France governed them all as best suited her interest. The plan had been adjusted, and the division of the provinces already made. Hungary, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were to remain under the jurisdiction of Maria Theresa; the elector of Bavaria was to obtain Bohemia, Tyrol, and Brisgau; Prussia, the Lower Silesia; and Saxony, Upper Silesia and Moravia.

Frederick
discovers
the dupli-
city of the
French:

This bold system, which might have enabled France to obtain such dominion in Europe, as no nation but the Romans ever enjoyed, was altogether inconsistent with the views of his Prussian Majesty, who laboured to exalt the grandeur of his family and his nation, not that of his deceitful allies. By picking up a paper carelessly dropped

ped by the French envoy Valori, he had discover- CHAP.
ed that France was unwilling to see him master of I.
Upper Silesia, or even of the county of Glatz.
He had learned the secret correspondence of cardinal de Fleury with the court of Vienna; and he knew that the timid policy of that temporising priest, whose intrigues had deluded many a sovereign, was ready to depart from a project which seemed too vast for his age and abilities, and to make peace with Maria Theresa at the expence of his allies, on condition that she resigned Luxembourg and part of Brabant to France.

These discoveries directed the conduct of Frederick in the delicate part which he was called to act. The design of invading Hanover so greatly alarmed the court of London, that George II. who had been disappointed in his negotiations with Russia and Saxony, determined to employ his best endeavours for bringing about a peace. For this purpose lord Hyndford repaired to the Austrian camp, and pressed so strongly the necessity of yielding a part, in order to preserve the remainder, that the court of Vienna, in addition to its former concessions, offered to relinquish the town of Neisse, together with a part of Upper Silesia, and to renounce any claim of assistance from Frederick in the present war. To hasten the

Defeats
their
schemes
by enter-
ing into
treaty
with Auf-
tria.

CHAP.

I.

the conclusion of this treaty, his Majesty passed the river Neisse at Michelau, encamped next day at Katcher, and sent a detachment to seize Oppeln, where he established a magazine. These movements obliged Mr. Neuperg to retreat to Oppersdorf. The king turned the enemy's posts near Friedland, and encamped at Steinau. Soon afterwards lord Hyndford arrived to acquaint his Prussian Majesty that the treaty only waited his acceptance, mareschal Neuperg having orders to evacuate Silesia, provided the king declared *verbally* that he would not undertake any new enterprize against the empress.

Conclu-
sion of
that trea-
ty.

Accompanied only by colonel Goltz, his Majesty repaired secretly to Oberschnellendorf, where, besides lord Hyndford, he found mareschal Neuperg and general Lentulus. Preliminaries were soon adjusted, among persons sincerely desirous of an accommodation. It was agreed that, to save appearances, Neisse should be besieged; that the Prussians should take up their winter quarters, unmolested, in Silesia and Bohemia; and that this *verbal* negotiation should be kept a profound secret, and the divulging the smallest article, completely annul the whole. Neisse surrendered in twelve days; and the Austrian garrison had no sooner left it, than the Prussian engineers began to extend
and

and improve its fortifications, and at length rendered it one of the strongest places in Europe. CHAP. I.

The army then dispersed into winter quarters; and the king having received the homage of his new subjects at Breslaw, returned to Berlin, having employed eleven months in reducing a country which contained a million of industrious subjects, and yielded a revenue of 3,600,000 crowns. Frederick receives the submission of his new subjects at Breslaw, October 1741.

This money was employed in augmenting his army, which soon amounted to 106 battalions, and 191 squadrons; a great military force, yet necessary for securing his important conquest.

Neither the return of winter nor the secret treaty between his Majesty and the queen of Hungary (which the imprudence of her ministers was at great pains to divulge) interrupted the operations of the French and their allies. The Bavarians had advanced within two marches of Vienna; and had they assailed that city, a measure to which Frederick strongly exhorted their elector, they would have encountered but a feeble resistance, and might have speedily defeated the Austrians in the capital of Austria itself; but the elector abandoned that salutary design, weakly fearing lest the Saxons, being left alone in Bohemia, might conquer and retain that kingdom. The French, suspecting that the taking of Vienna might

Successes of the French and their allies in Bohemia, October 1741.

CHAP. I. might render the Bavarians too haughty and too independent, fomented their mean jealousy, and exhorted them to return from the east; and in consequence of their following that advice, this jarring confederacy, while corroded in its heart by hate and envy, displayed externally strong marks of concord, and assembled its whole force in Bohemia. Tabor and Budweis afforded an easy conquest. A numerous French detachment under Segur covered the Bohemian frontiers. On the 26th of October, the city of Prague was assaulted and taken by the united arms of the Bavarians and Saxons; and in the December following, the elector of Bavaria made his public entry into this capital, and was crowned king of Bohemia.

Spain
takes
part in
the war.

The calamities which overwhelmed the House of Austria, excited the commiseration of England, and inflamed the rapacity of Spain. The latter kingdom, governed by its queen, the ambitious princess of Parma, disdained to remain inactive, while rival states gathered laurels and gained territories. The queen of Spain advanced pretensions to the principality of Parma, as well as to Placentia, which she called her petticoat; and in which districts she wished to establish her second son Don Philip. By her orders 20,000 Spaniards entered the kingdom of Naples; while Don Phi-

lip

lip with another army penetrated through Dauphiny and Savoy in order to invade Lombardy. CHAP. 1.

Thus, what had appeared originally but a faint spark in Silesia, finally produced a general conflagration in Europe.

The success of the allies in Bohemia ought to have hastened the elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne; but the tedious formality of the Diet of election assembled at Frankfort still procrastinated that event. The heaviest pedants of Germany commented and confounded in verbose disputes the clauses of the Golden Bull, which regulate this august ceremony; attentive only to forms, they totally neglected the substance; and it was necessary for Frederick to interfere, lest the dissensions which prevailed in the confederacy, the jealousy of the Saxons, the ignorance of the French generals, and the indolence of the Bavarians, might speedily occasion some fatal reverse of fortune, and prevent the possibility of hindering, by the elevation of another family to the Imperial throne, that dignity from becoming hereditary in the renewed House of Austria.

The duke of Lorraine, great duke of Tuscany, and husband to Maria Theresa, presuming on the verbal stipulation between his house and the king of The elector of Bavaria chosen emperor, 24th of

CHAP. of Prussia, solicited his Majesty's vote in his own
 I. favour. To this extraordinary demand, Frede-
 January, rick wrote an answer, which he calls obliging, but
 1742. which he acknowledges to have been couched in
 language so dark and so intricate, that it was un-
 intelligible even to its author. His main object
 was to avail himself of the present favourable crisis
 to precipitate the election; for which purpose he
 proposed fixing a day, beyond which that event
 could not be delayed. This expedient was ap-
 proved; the elector of Bavaria was chosen em-
 peror on the 24th of January, 1742; and after-
 wards crowned at Franckfort, under the title of
 Charles VII.

Maria
 Theresa's
 successes
 in Austria
 and Bohe-
 mia.

While Charles thus acquired an empty title,
 the activity of the Austrian generals, Khevenhul-
 ler and Neuperg, threatened to divest him of his
 territories. Having passed the river Ens at three
 different fords, Khevenhuller made Mr. de Segur
 retreat towards the city of that name, and then to-
 wards Lintz, where with 15,000 Austrians he block-
 ed up an equal number of Frenchmen. Mareschal
 Neuperg encamped behind the marshes of Bud-
 weis and Tabor, where Ziska, the chief of the
 Hussites, had long braved all his enemies; and
 by this position, not only restrained the incursions
 of the Bavarians and Saxons into Austria, but pre-
 vented

vented mareschal Broghio, who had succeeded CHAP.
 Belleisle, from either relieving Mr. de Segur, or I.
 intercepting several Austrian detachments who were
 ready to pour into Bavaria. This situation of af-
 fairs, which, if allowed to continue, might ren-
 der Maria Theresa more formidable than ever,
 obliged Frederick to throw off the mask, for
 which the indiscretion of the enemy, in divulging
 the treaty of Oberschnellendorf, afforded a justi-
 fiable reason.

Having sent mareschal Schwerin to seize Ol-
 mutz in Moravia, he determined to march into which
 that central province, and to employ in this ex- oblige
 pedition as few of his own troops as possible, and Frederick
 as many of his allies as their sovereigns could be to throw
 persuaded to spare him. The Saxons, who guard- off the
 ed the river Sava, which runs into the Moldau mask.
 near Prague, were most favourably situated for
 joining his Majesty in Moravia. The combined
 army might then invade Austria, and either oblige
 Mr. Khevenhuller to raise the blockade of Lintz,
 or force the Imperialists in Bohemia to decamp
 from the neighbourhood of Budweis, which would
 enable mareschal Broghio to relieve Mr. de Segur.
 The principal difficulty in the execution of this
 plan arose from the reluctance of the Saxons to
 join the Prussians. To remove this obstacle Fre-
 derick

CHAP. derick posted to Dresden, hoping to overcome the
 I. disinclination of Augustus III. which had been
 heightened by the intrigues of his minister.

Intrigues
 in the
 court of
 Saxony.

The late king of Poland, Augustus II. had formed a plan for dividing the dominions of the emperor Charles VI. The court of Vienna having received intimation of this project, sent prince Litchtenstein to Dresden in 1735; who being at variance with count Sulkowsky, the minister and favourite of Augustus III. assured count Bruhl that if he could procure a copy of the plan of partition, the Imperial court would spare no pains to ruin Sulkowsky, and to persuade Augustus to substitute Bruhl in his stead. Bruhl eagerly closed with the proposal, perfidiously divulged his master's secret, and soon afterwards obtained his promised reward. But the Saxons having declared war against the House of Austria, Maria Theresa sent to Dresden Mademoiselle Kling, an old maiden of an intriguing disposition, who had formerly been employed in the education of the queen of Poland. Soon after her arrival, she went to visit count Bruhl, and drawing him aside, produced the plan of partition, saying, "Do you know this? Promise instantly to make the Saxons retire from Bohemia, otherwise I will discover your treachery." Bruhl promised—his master envied the new

new honours of the elector of Bavaria; and neither of them was willing to trust the Saxon troops to an ally, whom, six months before, they had undertaken to dethrone.

CHAP.
I.

Yet the fear of disobliging his Prussian Majesty, prevailed over all these considerations. In a conference with count Bruhl, count Saxe, and Mr. Valori, the French envoy, Frederick displayed the map of Moravia, and explained his proposed plan for relieving Mr. de Segur, and saving Bavaria. Augustus III. having entered the room, his Majesty thought it decent to acquaint him with the service in which it was meant that his troops should be employed. Bruhl had already folded up the map—Frederick unfolded it anew, and acting, as he says, the part of a seller of orvietan, accumulated one argument on another, insisting chiefly on this, that Augustus could never expect to be master of Moravia, unless he would take the trouble to conquer that province. The king of Poland answered, “Yes,” to all his Majesty’s observations, but seemed rather tired than convinced. Bruhl finally lost patience, and put an end to the conference by telling his master that the opera was ready to begin. The prospect of conquering ten kingdoms could not have detained Augustus a moment longer. He hastily declared his final resolution; and the negotiation being thus suddenly

Frédéric
negotiates
at Dres-
den the
assistance
of the
Saxon
troops.

ly

CHAP. ly concluded, as a town is taken by assault, Frederick
 I. invited early next morning to his apartment, Father Guarini, who was at once a favourite, a minister, a buffoon, and a confessor. His Majesty persuaded this priest, that he wished to succeed with Augustus only through his good offices; and the Italian's subtlety was the dupe of his vanity. After quitting Frederick, Guarini went immediately to his master, and confirmed him in his resolution of ordering the Saxons to co-operate with the Prussians; a measure not easily brought about, considering the opposition of count Bruhl, the disinclination of Augustus himself, and the averfeness of count Saxe, who still dreaming of his lost duchy of Courland, thought the best means of recovering it would be by thwarting the measures of Prussia.

Frederick
 invades
 Moravia,
 January
 1742.

The king hastened to Prague. Segur still defended Lintz; but count Terring, who covered Bavaria, had been defeated by the Austrians at Scårdingen. Frederick vainly endeavoured to rouse the inactivity of mareschal Broglio, but concerted measures with Mr. Sechelles for subsisting the Saxons. Sechelles said, "I will attempt impossibilities;" a sentence that ought to be written in letters of gold on the desk of every commissary. Nor did he promise this only—he actually

ally performed it. Frederick then visited his quarters in Bohemia: and from thence proceeded to Olmutz in Moravia, where he had ordered large magazines to be formed; but he soon perceived that this operation had not been directed by a Sechelles.

CHAP.

I.

During his Majesty's short stay at Olmutz, he was joined by Mr. Fitzner, counsellor of the great duke of Tuscany, who was intrusted with certain propofals from the court of Vienna. The king recalled to the remembrance of this agent, the various infractions of the truce of Oberschnellendorf; and when Fitzner acquainted him with the shameful capitulation of Segur at Lintz, employed this as a new argument for persuading the queen of Hungary to make peace with her enemies, insinuating that the English would readily abandon her cause for the interests of their commerce. Fitzner agreed to maintain a secret correspondence with his Majesty by means of a certain canon Janini.

Negotia-
tion with
the queen.

The news of the election of an emperor seemed to reanimate the languor of the court of Vienna. A powerful army had been raised under prince Charles of Lorraine, who hastened to defend Moravia; and Frederick, who had succeeded in his negotiations.

His operations in
Moravia
disconcerted by
the inactivity and
treachery of his
allies.

CHAP. negotiation with Augustus, found it impossible to derive any benefit from the undisciplined licence of the Saxons, and the inactivity or treachery of their commanders. Instead of the great projects which he meditated, and which uncommon rapidity in the execution could alone render practicable, it was impossible to remain in Moravia without taking Brunn. The king of Poland refused cannon for the siege of that place, under pretence of wanting money, though he had just purchased a diamond for 400,000 crowns. The French remained in a profound lethargy at Piseck in Bohemia, commanded by marshal Broglio, who had suffered repeated strokes of the palsy. The army of the new emperor had neither strength nor spirit to afford any vigorous assistance. Frederick therefore prepared to retreat from Moravia, leaving only prince Thierri's division in a strong camp near Olmutz, and having previously dismissed the ungovernable and perfidious Saxons, at the request of marshal Broglio, who craved their assistance against prince Charles in Bohemia, at a time when his Majesty well knew, from intercepted letters, that the prince was marching to Moravia.

Invades
Bohemia,
April
1742.

At departing from that province, Frederick was asked by Mr. Balow, who attended him as minister

from

from the court of Dresden, "Who is now to crown my master?" The king replied, "That crowns were to be obtained only by heavy cannon, the want of which had hindered the taking of Brunn." Determined thenceforth never to command troops who appeared incapable of obedience, he proceeded by Zwittau and Leutomischel, to Chrudim in Bohemia. The Saxons instead of joining the French at Piseck, took up their quarters in the circle of Saatz, on the frontiers of their electorate.

CHAP. I.

April 17.

The arrival of prince Charles in Moravia obliged prince Thierry to retreat towards Silesia. The burden of the war now rested entirely on the Prussians, which made his majesty listen readily to the renewed mediation of lord Hyndford. But the capitulation of Lintz, the evacuation of Moravia, and the defection of the Saxons, had revived the obstinacy of a court which, following the brute impressions of irrational nature, has always behaved (if we believe Frederick) as insolently in prosperity as abjectly in adversity. Before treating with the Austrians it seemed necessary to defeat them. Lord Carteret, who had succeeded Sir Robert Walpole as minister to George II. took Maria Theresa under his particular protection. He paid her subsidies, sent English troops to Flanders, and in

The obstinacy of the court of Vienna determines him to risk an engagement.

H

order

CHAP. order to diminish the number of her enemies, endeavoured to negotiate a peace with Prussia. But for effecting this desirable event, the king trusted entirely to his army in Bohemia, which, by draughts from Brandenburg and Silesia, now amounted to 33,000 men.

Derives
little ad-
vantage
from his
French
allies.

Mareschal Broglio meanwhile, surrounded by a dozen dukes and peers of France, commanded 10,000 men at Pileck, and by repeated representations of his weakness, obtained from cardinal Fleury the promise of a reinforcement. This however did not arrive in time to answer any useful purpose. The French have often been reproached, and justly, as careless auxiliaries. Allied with the Austrians they had made them lose Belgrade; and now that they were their enemies, they did them no harm. Their friendship had been hostility, and their hostility proved impotent. By such extraordinary conduct they disgusted all their allies, and totally ruined the affairs of their Bavarian emperor.

The
battle of
Chassau
or Chatu-
sitz, May
27, 1742.

Their artifices could not deceive Frederick, because he never reposed in them the smallest confidence. Having quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Chrudim, in such a disposition that they might easily be assembled, he patiently waited the arrival of prince Charles of Lorraine, who,

flushed

flushed with his success in Moravia, advanced in pursuit of the Prussians to Czassau in Bohemia. In numbers, the Austrians were superior; but their cavalry still persisted in the awkward and ineffectual use of fire-arms. The superiority of his majesty's squadrons, the judicious disposition of his battalions, and his seizing the decisive moment to attack the enemy in flank, gained the battle of Czassau or Chatusitz, in which prince Charles lost 7,000 men. The loss of the Prussians in killed and wounded exceeded 3,000. The action lasted three hours. After their defeat, the Austrians retreated three miles, and occupied at Haber a fortified camp among the mountains. The Prussians pursued them, and obliged prince Charles to decamp in the night, and take shelter in the thick woods near the road to Teutchbrod. The arrangements respecting subsistence prevented the king from penetrating farther into Bohemia; he therefore encamped at Kutttenberg, a post of great strength, near to which he had formed magazines.

Meanwhile mareschal Broglio, and his coadjutor Belleisle, who had joined the army after the rising of the diet at Frankfort, defeated prince Lobkowitz near the defile of Sahe, which obliged that prince to raise the siege of Frauenberg, and

Belleisle's projects, and reception in the Prussian camp.

CHAP. to retreat towards Budweis. The marshals had received a reinforcement of 10,000 men; the prince commanded but 7,000. Yet this victory was celebrated with noisy applause at Paris, and employed as a subject fitted to revive the drooping hopes of the old cardinal, and to brighten the decayed lustre of the French arms. Intoxicated with his military success, and elated with the thoughts of having given an emperor to Germany, marshal Belleisle repaired to the Prussian camp, in order to concert measures for rousing the Saxons from their lethargy. But Frederick had good reasons for entering into none of his views. He knew the secret negotiations of the cardinal with the court of Vienna. Chetardie, the French ambassador in Russia, had proposed to the Empress to make peace with Sweden, by indemnifying the latter power at the expence of Prussia. Cardinal Tencin had said in the name of the French court to the Pope, That his holiness needed not be uneasy at the aggrandisement of the king of Prussia, because France, who had raised that heretic, would seize a proper opportunity to reduce him to his original meanness.—Besides these reasons for making peace with the queen of Hungary, Frederick had only 150,000 crowns in his treasury. He therefore dispatched full powers to count Padewills at Breslaw, to conclude a peace with

with lord Hyndford, who had full powers from the court of Vienna. Belleisle meanwhile had frequent audiences at Kuttendorf, which evaporated in vain compliments and empty panegyrics.

Frederick, though well acquainted with the duplicity of his allies, was unwilling that they should meet with any disaster which might retard the conclusion of peace. From the situation of Broglio's army, he perceived that the marshal was exposed to some fatal reverse of fortune. He therefore took the liberty of sending him his best advice, and exhorted him to push vigorously his advantages against prince Lobkowitz, before that prince could be reinforced by prince Charles of Lorraine; at least to victual Frauenberg, which would secure to his army a near and safe retreat. The marshal disdained the counsels of a young man, and remained totally inactive at Frauenberg. The Austrians arrived, cut off his detachment at Tein, passed the Muldau, and pillaged the French baggage. Astonished at this unexpected irruption, the marshal fled in trepidation to Piseck, without any other orders than saying, "The army must march;" he thence retreated to Braunau, from which place he was expelled by 3,000 Croats, and obliged to seek shelter under the cannon of Prague.

This

CHAP.

I.

Peace
concluded
at Breslaw
between
Maria
Theresa
and Fre-
derick,
June 11,
1742.

This piece of bad news made Frederick dispatch a courier to hasten the negotiation at Breslaw. The eloquence of lord Hyndford gained great force from the victory at Czaſlau; and the following preliminaries were signed the 11th of June, 1742: 1. The queen of Hungary cedes to his Prussian majesty the Upper and Lower Silesia, together with the principality of Glatz, except the towns of Troppau, Jegerndorff, and the high mountains beyond Oppa. 2. His Prussian majesty promises to pay to England the sum of 1,700,000 crowns, which had been lent the late emperor upon a mortgage of the Silesian revenues. The other articles related to the suspension of arms, and exchange of prisoners, and the freedom of religion and commerce. These preliminaries were ratified with all convenient speed; and Frederick having evacuated Bohemia, drew one division of his army through Saxony into his hereditary dominions, and sent another to Silesia to guard that important conquest.

CHAP.

II.

The

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Frederick abandons the Emperor. His letter to cardinal Fleury. Belleisle's retreat. Domestic improvements. The academy instituted. Negotiations. Secret treaty of Warfa. Treaty of Frankfurt. The French successful in Flanders. England threatened with invasion. Prince Charles of Lorraine invades Alsace. Frederick's negotiations with Russia. He traverses Saxony. Invades Bohemia. Distress of his army. He retreats to Silesia. Death of the Emperor. Negotiations for chusing a successor. Campaign of the French in Italy, and in Flanders. Frederick defends Silesia. Glorious exploit at Jagerndorf. Battle of Hohenfriedberg. Injudicious measures of the French. The Great Duke of Tuscany elected Emperor. Haughtiness of the Empress Queen. The treaty of Hanover. Frederick invades Moravia. Desolates the Bohemian frontier. The battle of Sohr. The dangerous conspiracy of the Austrians and Saxons. Frederick's stratagems. He surprises the Saxons at Hunnersdorf. Negotiates with the court of Dresden. Battle of Kesseldorf. Frederick's moderation in prosperity. Peace of Dresden.

THE battle of Molwitz had effected, that of Czaßlau had confirmed, the conquest of Silesia.

The

CHAP.
II.

CHAP. II.

Frederick
abandons
the cause
of the
Emperor,
1742.

His ex-
cuse.

His letter
to Car-
dinal
Fleury.

The possession was secured (as far as treaties afford security) by the peace of Breslaw; and an army of 35,000 Prussians quartered in the ceded province, was ready to defend it with an obstinacy equal to the boldness with which it had been acquired. As the main purpose of the war was thus happily accomplished, Frederick too easily abandoned the Emperor to his own weakness, the jealousy of the Saxons, the levity of the French, and the implacable resentment of the House of Austria. The inactivity or perfidy of his majesty's allies, afforded him a ready excuse for preferring his own interest to the advantage of this jarring confederacy. Count Wartenleben being sent to Augustus III. with the news of the victory of Czaulau, that prince appeared so totally unacquainted with the motions of his own troops, that he asked the count, Whether his Saxons had behaved well in the engagement. He was told, That they had not been there; and that, long before the battle, they had retired to the circle of Saatz, on the frontiers of their own electorate.

The military operations of the French had ill corresponded with the lofty promises of their court; yet, from a decent regard to his allies, Frederick thought proper formally to notify the peace of Breslaw to cardinal Fleury. In a long

letter,

letter, he recapitulated and displayed his interrupted exertions in the common cause; glanced politely at the errors of the French generals, and urged with great force the plea of necessity, which obliged him to abandon projects so salutary to Europe as those which France entertained. The cardinal answered his majesty in a style equally polite and equally insincere, dissembling his resentment, and intreating Frederick, as arbiter of Europe, to mediate a general peace, in which the interests of the Emperor should not be forgotten.

The peace of Breslaw had immediately after its ratification been guaranteed by George II. who wished to obtain the assistance of Prussia in the war which he meditated against France. A body of 16,000 British, and 6,000 Hessian troops already rendezvoused in Brabant. An equal number of Hessians followed the standard of the Emperor, that warlike people being thus cruelly sacrificed to the mean avarice of their Landgrave, who was likewise king of Sweden. The arrival of the British forces in Brabant prevented not Mr. Maillebois, who commanded a French army on the Rhine, from attempting to relieve his countrymen, who had been defeated in Bohemia, and whom prince Charles of Lorraine pursued from one ill-chosen post to another, and finally blocked

CHAP. II. blocked up in Prague. Their distress became so great, that the soldiers lived on horse-flesh.

Maillebois might have arrived in time to defend Prague, had not the court of Vienna amused cardinal Fleury with negotiation; till marshal Kevenhuller advanced from Bavaria, and compelled Maillebois to retire to Egra. The French general afterwards joined marshal Seckendorf, who commanded the Imperialists in Bavaria; he was followed thither by prince Charles of Lorraine; but the severity of the season soon obliged the forces on both

Belleisle's retreat from Prague. sides to go into winter quarters. Belleisle meanwhile had orders to evacuate Prague. His forces amounted to 16,000 men, chiefly infantry, who were blocked up by an equal number of Austrian cavalry, commanded by prince Lobkowitz. On the night of the eighteenth of December, Belleisle effected his escape, gained three marches on the prince, and arrived the tenth day of his retreat, over marshes and mountains, at Egra; cold and fatigue having reduced his army to 8,000 men; part of which joined Maillebois in Bavaria, and the remainder went to recruit in Alsace.

The queen of Hungary's operations invigorated by the The queen of Hungary, after thus recovering Bohemia, was encouraged by the martial ardour of George II. to persevere from ambition in a war undertaken for defence. That prince, hoping to

decide

decide

decide by victories in Germany, the interests of his commerce and his colonies endangered by the House of Bourbon, set himself at the head of his army, and gained the battle of Dettingen. Having passed the Rhine at Mentz, he advanced towards Worms, in order to co-operate with prince Charles of Lorraine, who, after driving the enemy from Bavaria, threatened to invade the valuable province from which he derived his title, and to take up his winter quarters in Burgundy and Champagne. But this bold design was resisted with equal boldness; the French manfully defended their frontiers; prince Charles was obliged to stop short in the district of Brisgow, on the eastern side of the Rhine; and George II. received a reinforcement of 14,000 Dutch troops, which he had purchased dearly, only to send them with the rest of his forces into winter quarters in Westphalia and Brabant.

The king of Prussia watched with anxiety the operations of the Austrians. Prudence taught him to repose but little confidence in a reconciled enemy. Should the queen of Hungary obtain a decided preponderance in Germany, Prussia must not only lose the consideration which she had acquired by the conquest of Silesia, but run the risk of being speedily deprived of that province. The short interval of peace his majesty had assiduously employed

CHAP.
II.

powerful
assistance
of Eng-
land,
June 16,
1743.

Frederick
employs
the short
interval of
peace in
domestic
improve-
ments,

1743.

CHAP. II.
 employed in repairing the breaches of the late war, and in improving the internal condition of his dominions. He had formed magazines sufficient for the service of one campaign; the money in his treasury was equal to supporting a war of two years continuance; and the fortifications in Silesia had been repaired with great diligence. By digging the canal of Plauen, he had abridged the communication between the Elb and the Oder; the canal of Swine was rendered navigable; the harbour of Stettin had been enlarged; silk manufactures had been established in several great towns, and the insect which produces that precious substance, became a new source of wealth to the inhabitants of the country.—Amidst those operations, which enriched and strengthened his kingdom, Frederick neglected not the means by which it might be adorned. The new academy of Berlin was instituted. In the Belles-Lettres, to the improvement of which so many circumstances concur, that society long continued weak; but the department of science was soon distinguished by the names of Euler, Pott, Magraff, and Maupertuis.

His dexterous negotiation during the winter 1744.

Although the issue of the campaign 1743 had not corresponded with its successful commencement, there was reason to believe that the queen of Hungary and her allies expected next year to dethrone

the

the Emperor. His Prussian majesty remonstrated on this subject with George II.; and by threatening to invade Hanover, obtained an ineffectual promise from the English monarch, that he would not undertake any measure tending to invalidate the dignity, or curtail the possessions, of Charles VII. By his emissaries, as well as by several personal conferences, Frederick endeavoured to promote a league among the princes of the empire for supporting the authority of their chief. This however could not be effected without the disbursement of such large sums as his majesty was neither able nor willing to advance; and the French on this occasion, likewise preferred views of economy to motives of ambition. Frederick plainly perceived that he must again enter the lists with the power of Austria; and in order to secure his northern frontier, while he carried his arms to the south, spared no pains to obtain the friendship of Russia and Sweden. By his negotiations in these countries, where his schemes however were continually thwarted by the ministers of London and Vienna, he succeeded in his plan of marrying the Grand Duke of Russia to the princess of Zerbst, whose father was a marshal in the Prussian service; and in concluding another marriage between the heir apparent of Sweden and the princess Ulrica of Prussia. Upon these two alliances, he founded the security of his dominions against two powers,

whose,

CHAP. whose hostilities are the more formidable to Prussia, because, without the assistance of a fleet, it is impossible for that kingdom effectually to retort their injuries.

II.

Secret
treaty of
Warlaw
for regain-
ing Silesia,
1744.

Frederick wished earnestly to bring over the Saxons to his views. But the threats of mademoiselle Kling still resounded in the ears of count Bruhl, and that frivolous count still governed the feeble mind of Augustus. Seduced by the artifices of his minister, Augustus concluded a treaty at Warlaw with the courts of London and Vienna, by which he guaranteed to Maria Theresa the countries which she possessed at the peace of Utrecht, and which she had lost by that of Breslaw. George II. who had guaranteed the latter treaty, carefully concealed from Frederick this new engagement, which could have no other aim than that of depriving him of Silesia.

Frederick
deter-
mines to
anticipate
his ene-
mies,
in opposi-
tion to
the advice
of his mi-
nisters.

By a secret channel, however, the king of Prussia obtained immediate intelligence of this dangerous transaction, and determined seasonably to anticipate his enemies, while they were still engaged in war against the united strength of the House of Bourbon. His ministers unanimously opposed this resolution, alleging that he, whose situation is advantageous, ought not without the most evident necessity

necessity to change it; and that to avoid the calamities of war, it was imprudent spontaneously to provoke them. To this argument, Frederick returned a written answer, which he concluded by observing, That the present juncture demanded decision and boldness; that much might be lost, and nothing could be gained by delay; and that it was better for the Prussians to perish honourably with arms in their hands, in consequence of a seasonable and manly resolution, than to be overwhelmed disgracefully, when the irresistible strength of their enemies excluded every hope of safety.

It happened fortunately at this juncture that the Emperor, who looked on his affairs as almost desperate, sent count Seckendorf to Berlin to crave the assistance of Prussia. The count assured Frederick, that the French wished earnestly to support his master, and had determined to exert themselves vigorously for that purpose. Although this proposal was extremely agreeable to his Prussian majesty, he specified the following conditions as necessary to his contracting any new engagement: 1. That his proposed alliance with Sweden and Russia should previously be brought to a conclusion. 2. That while his Swedish majesty made a diversion in Bremen, the French should invade Hanover.

CHAP.

II.

The
treaty of
Frank-
fort, May
27, 1744.

CHAP.
II.

3. That at the same time the Prussians entered Bohemia, the French should act offensively on the Rhine. 4. That the kingdom of Bohemia should be dismembered, and the three circles nearest Silesia be annexed to the Prussian dominions. This article was added, that in case fortune favoured the arms of the allies, all misunderstandings might be prevented about the division of their conquests; and upon these conditions an alliance was concluded at Frankfort between the Emperor and the king of Prussia, to which the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse acceded.

Frederick's dexterous negotiations at the court of France.

To confirm the salutary resolutions of the court of Versailles, Frederick sent thither count Rottembourg, who had entered into the Prussian service in 1740, and who being related to several illustrious families of France, seemed a proper person to supply the defects of baron Chambrier, who had resided twenty years as Prussian envoy at Paris, but who was far advanced in years, scrupulously circumspect, little connected with people of high rank, and inexperienced in transacting matters of great moment. Chambrier, however, was not recalled, the phlegm of the baron seeming necessary to moderate the fire of the count. By means of the duke of Richelieu, of cardinal Tencin,

cin, and above all of the king's mistress madame de Chateauroux, Rottembourg prevailed on Louis XV. to admit the articles which Frederick had proposed to Seckendorf, and to engage, that one French army should enter Westphalia, while another moved from Alsace, and endeavoured to drive the Austrians from Bavaria.

The zeal of the duchess of Chateauroux exceeded Frederick's most sanguine hopes. Moved by her solicitations, Louis tore himself from the idleness of his amusements, and conducted an army into Flanders, where he besieged and took Menin and Ypres. The prince of Conti had already passed Ténaro, to invade the territories of the king of Sardinia, who had joined the Austrian alliance. Having taken Nice and Villa Franca, Conti traversed the mountains of Montalbon, broke through the barriers of Savoy, took Dauphin by assault, penetrated into Piedmont, and laid siege to Coni. His Sardinian majesty attempted in vain to interrupt his operations; but the obstinate resistance of the besieged, an inundation which desolated the adjacent country, and the consequent want of provisions, obliged him to raise the siege, and to return into Savoy. In the Mediterranean, the fleets of France and Spain had fought a drawn battle against the English admiral

Success
of the
French
arms in
Flanders
and Italy
1744.

CHAP. Mathews; and in order to remove the British

II.

England
threaten-
ed with
invasion,
1744.

troops from Flanders, count Saxe had conducted 10,000 men to Dunkirk, together with the young pretender prince Edward, with a declared intention to invade England. To oppose this alarming measure, a body of 12,000 English and Dutch troops were withdrawn from the continent; the Dutch armed their merchantmen to protect the British coast; and George II. required from the king of Prussia a body of auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty of Breslaw. To this demand Frederick replied, "That in case Great Britain should be attacked, he would defend that kingdom in person with 30,000 men." George thought that number too great, and desisted from his pretensions. The failure of the expedition was ascribed to contrary winds, the vulgar excuse of sailors; but the French admiral, Roquefeuille, certainly dreaded to cross the channel in sight of an English fleet.

Prince
Charles
of Lorraine
invades
Alface,
1744.

The terror produced in England by the rumour of this invasion facilitated the success of Lewis XV. in Flanders; a country which, as it abounds in fortified places, has been the ordinary scene of French triumphs, the troops of that nation excelling far more in besieging towns, than in deciding the fortune of campaigns. But the conquests of Lewis in Flanders were compensated and surpassed

French

by

CHAP.

III

by the acquisitions of the enemy in another quarter. Upon the death of mareschal Khevenhuller, which drew sincere tears from Maria Theresa, the Austrian army, which had wintered in Brisgow and Bavaria, was commanded nominally indeed by prince Charles of Lorrain, but in effect conducted by mareschal Traun, an enterprising and skilful general. Having assembled his troops at Heilbrun, Traun advanced to Philippsburgh, obtained the command of the Rhine from Schreck to Mentz, passed that river, took Haguenau and June. Savern, and laid the rich province of Alsace under heavy contributions. The mareschal Coigni, who commanded the French army on that frontier, and Seckendorf, who reinforced him with the feeble remains of the imperialists, shewed themselves as July. inferior in skill to mareschal Traun, as their armies were inferior in strength to the Austrians.

Lewis XV. determined in person to conduct 40,000 men, the flower of his army in Flanders, to the defence of Alsace; and in order to encourage that monarch to repel the enemy, to harass them as they repassed the Rhine, and to pursue them back into Bavaria, Frederick sent mareschal Schmittau to the French camp, promising that by the middle of August he would invade Bohemia with 100,000 men. Unfortunately for the glory of the

Unseasonable
malady of
Lewis
XV.

CHAP.
II.

November

1744

The

Prussian

negotiations

was at

St. Louis

recommenced

proposed

de Bellin

chance

1744

Imprudent
measures of
the
French.

August.

French arms, Lewis was most unseasonably arrested by a malady at Metz; and the duke of Harcourt and the mareschal Noailles, who then commanded in his stead, shewed not more skill or activity in disturbing the retreat of the Austrians, than Coigni and Seckendorf had done in opposing their invasion. While these generals amused themselves with useless formalities and inglorious sieges, the prince of Lorraine repassed the Rhine in the night at Beinheim, and destroyed his bridges before day-break; and then continuing his march undisturbed through Swabia and the Palatinate, entered peaceably into Bohemia.

Schmittau, the Prussian minister, lamenting the ill-concerted measures of the French, had been employed all this while in addressing memoirs to the king, soliciting the ministers, and remonstrating with the mareschals. The only assistance that he could obtain, was a reinforcement of some German troops, to co-operate with Seckendorf in Bavaria. The opportunity of destroying the Austrian army was for ever lost. The French forces, which were to invade Westphalia, did not make their appearance; and notwithstanding the pressing instances of the Prussian envoy, Lewis XV. no sooner recovered from his illness, than instead of pursuing prince Charles, he sat down before

Freyburgh,

Freyburgh, in the district of Brifgaw, with 70,000 men, and ended an inactive campaign by this inglorious conquest.

CHAP. II.

November 1744.

The invasion of Alsace made Frederick apprehensive lest France should conclude hastily a peace with Austria, and leave him at the mercy of the queen of Hungary. He prepared therefore for taking the field, although the previous arrangements which he had judged necessary, and particularly his negotiation with Russia, still remained incomplete. The skill and dexterity of Mr. Mardefeld, the Prussian envoy at St. Petersburg, had been opposed by the intrigues of the chancellor Bestuchew, a man hostile to France through caprice, attached to England from avarice, destitute of real talents for business, but proud through ignorance, and so false by nature that he betrayed even those by whom he had been corrupted. Having persuaded the empress to undertake a journey to Moscow, that she might be crowned in that ancient capital, he next prevailed on her to make a pilgrimage to Kiowie, in honour of some obscure saint in the obscure calendar of Muscovy. The absence of the sovereign from the court was a season of triumph for the minister. The guineas of England prevailed, as might easily have been foreseen, over the crowns of Prussia. But in executing

The Prussian negotiations at St. Petersburg opposed by Bestuchew, 1744.

His character.

CHAP.

II.

cutting most political projects it is necessary to be contented with an approximation to complete success; and although the alliance with Russia was not so solid as Frederick wished to render it, he hoped that his vigorous exertions in the field would decide the issue of the war, before the voluptuous indolence of Elizabeth could be engaged to thwart his operations with any degree of energy.

Frederick
traverses
Saxony,
August
1744;

The Emperor had already written to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, craving a free passage for the Prussian auxiliaries, who intended to enter Bohemia. Augustus was then at Warsaw; his ministers remonstrated, intreated, and wished to gain time; but the Prussians were already in their territory. This invasion was stigmatized with every epithet of reproach, although its principal aim was to save Germany from the insult of seeing the degradation of its emperor. The Saxons murmured, Augustus raged, George II. stormed, Maria Theresa trembled, and Frederick pursued undisturbed his march to Pirna. Under the mask of pride, the ministers of Augustus endeavoured to conceal their terror; and while they tamely granted every important demand, they refused trifles with obstinacy. They furnished provisions, supplied boats for crossing the Elbe, allowed a fleet of victuallers to sail through the middle of Dresden,

but

but they doubled the garrison of that city, and barricaded its gates. Their hostile intentions were visible; and a body of 17,000 men, commanded by the old prince of Anhalt, was left on the western frontier to overawe their electorate. Frederick advanced towards Prague, coasting the left of the Elbe; another column, under prince Leopold of Anhalt, traversed Lusatia; mareschal Schwerin at the head of the third column issued from the gorges of Silesia. The whole army had assembled before Prague the 2d of September; the trenches were opened on the 10th, and on the 16th that capital surrendered.

CHAP.
II.

invades
Bohemia
and takes
Prague,
September 1744.

After this brilliant commencement of the campaign, the Prussians might have marched eastward, and dislodged Mr. Bathiani, who had conducted 12,000 men from Bavaria, and formed a great magazine at Pilsen for the use of the Austrian army under prince Charles of Lorraine, which advanced towards the western frontiers of Bohemia. Having made themselves masters of that magazine they might then have proceeded to Com and Fort, and occupied the defiles which open Bohemia on the side of the Palatinate, and through which alone prince Charles's army could penetrate into the former country. The king preferred this plan, which would have enabled him to defend Prague, and

The solicitations of his allies betray him into a false plan of military operations.

CHAP. II. and the territory which his army already occupied; but his allies, the Emperor, the French king, and particularly the marshal Belleisle, insisted that the army ought to move southwards, and take possession of Tabor and Budweis, in order to establish a communication with Bavaria, and alarm Maria Theresa for the safety of Austria itself. Overcome by the solicitations of his confederates, and lest he should seem to have no other purpose in view than merely to conquer the three circles of Bohemia, which had been promised him in the treaties of Frankfort, he undertook this unfortunate expedition, leaving in Prague only six battalions, which sufficed not to guard the one-half of its circumference.

Descripti-
on of that
part of
Bohemia
in which
the Prus-
sians were
to act.

Towards the south of Prague, and on the right of the Muldau, the country is wild and mountainous; even the vallies are ill cultivated and thinly peopled. When you have advanced eleven German miles inclining to the east, you discover the city of Tabor situate on a rock, and built in the fifteenth century by Ziska, that famous Hussite, who defended, but at the same time plundered, his country. Beyond Tabor, the small river Luschnitze frets over craggy rocks, covered with thick woods, through which you continue your journey for three German miles, and then perceive the

the fortified city of Budweis two miles before you, in the middle of a fertile plain, watered by the Moldau. At a small distance from Budweis, but on the left of the river, the lofty castle of Frauenberg spreads its towering battlements, which the French defended six months against the arms of the Austrians. Such was the country in which the Prussians were to act.

CHAP.

II.

Having marched from Prague the seventeenth of September, they arrived the twenty-sixth, at Tabor. That place which was reckoned impregnable in the sixteenth century, as well as Budweis and Frauenberg, were taken. But the army had scarcely performed two marches, when Mr. Bathiani sent a large body of Croats and hussars, who having occupied Beraun and Kanigsaal, intercepted the communication of the Prussians with Prague, and infested all the avenues by which they could receive provisions from the adjacent country. This hardship was felt the more severely, because the draught horses and oxen, belonging to the army, had been so ill managed, that one-half of them had perished on the march. Nor was this all; the nobles and clergy of Bohemia were implacably hostile to the Prussian heretics; and the common people in that kingdom, consisting chiefly of *serfs*, were implicitly submissive to the

Their
first suc-
cess and
subse-
quent dis-
asters.

Describe-
on of the
part of
Bohemia
in which
the Prus-
sians were
to act.

CHAP.
II.

the commands of their superiors. At the approach of the enemy, these wretched peasants destroyed or hid their provisions and forage, desolated their villages, and dispersed into the neighbouring forests. The Prussians found only deserts before them; and none of the Bohemians, whom they seized, could be tempted by money to give them the smallest intelligence, or to depart in other respects from the revered orders of their masters,

They
retreat
north-
wards to
Bene-
schau,
October
1744.

This distressing situation was aggravated by the incursions of 10,000 hussars, who had advanced from Hungary, and who harassed or restrained the movements of the Prussian detachments towards the south, in a country perpetually varied, or rather deformed, by marshes, rocks, forests, and defiles. The army had continued for a month buried in a desert, and totally destitute of intelligence from any part of Europe. Prince Henry, the king's brother, was sick at Tabor; prince Leopold and marshal Schwerin carried their differences so high, that his Majesty could hardly prevent them from proving ruinous to the public cause; the Prussians were afflicted by diseases, and distressed for want of bread; and prince Charles of Lorraine having encamped on the banks of the Walawa, within two miles of Pisek, had been joined by the Saxons, whose hostility Frederick

had

had foreseen, but had restrained himself, through a false delicacy, from using the proper means to prevent it, while he was master of their country. It became necessary to retreat towards the impregnable post of Beneschau, which, if occupied by prince Charles, might have rendered the situation of the Prussians desperate. Marechal Schwerin, at the head of 15,000 men, seized this post, and the magazines which had been already formed in its neighbourhood. On the fourteenth of October, he was joined by the king, who had left 300 of the sick at Tabor, with a garrison of 3000 men. That place, as well as Budweis and Frauenberg, surrendered to the enemy.

CHAP.
II.

The design of prince Charles of Lorraine, or rather of the old marechal Traun, was to reduce his Prussian majesty to the alternative of abandoning either Bohemia or Silesia. If the king remained in the circle of Kaurzim and the neighbourhood of Prague, the enemy might intercept his communication with Silesia; and if he retired eastward to Pardubits, in the circle of Chrudim, Prague and Bohemia must be for ever lost. To this judicious plan the marechal added the wise precaution of chusing impregnable camps, which defended him against the hunger and despair of the Prussians; who, from want of provisions, and from dif-

The judi-
cious plan
of mare-
chal
Traun.

eases

CHAP. the commands of their superiors. At the ap-
 II. proach of the enemy, these wretched peasants des-
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 of Lorraine having encamped on the banks of the
 Walawa, within two miles of Pisek, had been
 joined by the Saxons, whose hostility Frederick

had

had foreseen, but had restrained himself, through a false delicacy, from using the proper means to prevent it, while he was master of their country. It became necessary to retreat towards the impregnable post of Beneschau, which, if occupied by prince Charles, might have rendered the situation of the Prussians desperate. Marechal Schwerin, at the head of 15,000 men, seized this post, and the magazines which had been already formed in its neighbourhood. On the fourteenth of October, he was joined by the king, who had left 300 of the sick at Tabor, with a garrison of 3000 men. That place, as well as Budweis and Frauenberg, surrendered to the enemy.

CHAP. II.

The design of prince Charles of Lorraine, or rather of the old marechal Traun, was to reduce his Prussian majesty to the alternative of abandoning either Bohemia or Silesia. If the king remained in the circle of Kaurzim and the neighbourhood of Prague, the enemy might intercept his communication with Silesia; and if he retired eastward to Pardubits, in the circle of Chrudim, Prague and Bohemia must be for ever lost. To this judicious plan the marechal added the wise precaution of chusing impregnable camps, which defended him against the hunger and despair of the Prussians; who, from want of provisions, and from dis-

The judicious plan of marechal Traun.

eases

CHAP.

II.

A single
Prussian
battalion
disputes
the pas-
sage of
the Elbe
with the
Austrian
army.

eases (scarcely 100 men in each regiment being fit for service), were obliged to pass the Elbe at Kolin, the ninth of November. Prince Charles followed them; and through the negligence of the patrols, prepared a bridge on the Elbe at Solnitz, in the night of the eighteenth. At five o'clock next morning, the Prussians were alarmed by the report of cannon, and a brisk discharge of musketry. The king sent parties on all sides to discover the scene of this unexpected engagement, but received not any satisfaction till mid-day, when an officer of hussars brought intelligence that the Austrian army had indeed passed the Elbe, but that their passage had been disputed five hours by a single battalion. This battalion, the only one near to Solnitz, was commanded by Mr. Wedel, who, notwithstanding the fire of fifty pieces of cannon, thrice repelled the Austrian grenadiers; and after his messengers sent to crave assistance had been intercepted by the enemy, retired in good order through the forest of Wischenjowitz to rejoin the army. In this memorable exploit, which procured him the name of Leonidas, Wedel lost two officers and 100 men. The prince of Lorraine, astonished that a single battalion should interrupt the operations of a great army, said to the generals who accompanied him, The queen would be fortunate indeed were she served by such heroes.

In

In this critical emergency the king assembled a council of war to deliberate whether the army should return to Prague, in order to keep possession of the kingdom of Bohemia, or evacuate that capital, as well as all their other posts, in order to retire to Silesia. Prince Leopold espoused the former resolution, which was the most splendid; the king preferred the latter, which was the most solid. Countries are to be gained by armies; but by continuing in Bohemia, the army must have been ruined before the return of spring, whereas by marching into Silesia it found all those refreshments of which it stood in need. The other generals preferred the opinion of the king; who, having sent his confidential aid-de-camp, Mr. Ballow, to communicate his design to his scattered posts and detachments, began his retreat the twentieth of November; and in the space of about three weeks his various columns reached the frontiers of Silesia. The prince of Lorraine pursued the Prussians only to Nachod; he thence marched southward to Moravia, while the Saxons returned westward to the circles of Bunzlau and Leutmeritz. Thus ended a very laborious campaign, the commencement of which had promised a far happier issue. The mighty army that was to conquer Bohemia and invade Austria, experienced the fate of the invincible armada with which Philip II. of Spain threatened to overwhelm England.

Having

CHAP.
II.

Frederick
retreats to
Silesia,
December
1744.

CHAP. II. Having distributed his troops in the strong holds of Silesia, Frederick returned to Berlin, in order

Death of the Emperor, January 20th, 1745. to provide resources for the ensuing campaign, and to resume his negotiations with foreign powers, which he meant to prosecute more seriously, should the events of the war render that measure expedient.

February 1745. General Lehwald and the old prince of Anhalt repelled vigorously the Austrian and Hungarian troops, who availing themselves of what they called the terror of the Prussians, infested Upper Silesia and the county of Glatz. But such exploits, however honourable to those by whom they were performed, ill compensated the unhappy revolution which had transferred to Silesia, a war undertaken for the defence of Alsace; and an event altogether unexpected tended still farther to disconcert the projects of Frederick, and to give a new impression to the politics of Europe. This was the death of the Emperor Charles VII. at Munich, the twentieth of January, 1745, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Difficulty of finding a person to succeed him. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, husband to Maria Theresa, immediately declared himself a candidate for the Imperial throne. His pretensions were supported by the intrigues of the clergy, the money of England, and the armies of the queen of Hungary; and the powers most adverse to his cause

cause could not easily name a rival qualified to op- CHAP.
 pose him. The Elector Palatine was too feeble; II.
 the son of the late Emperor was too young; Au-
 gustus elector of Saxony was already king of Po-
 land, a station held incompatible with the Imperial
 dignity; and Frederick himself was too much an
 object of jealousy and envy to the electoral college,
 and besides was totally destitute of that kind of
 ambition, which is gratified by the loftiness of
 empty titles. The court of Versailles, though de-
 sirous of accommodating its differences with the
 queen of Hungary, determined to oppose the pre-
 tensions of her husband; and by the influence of
 mareschal Saxe, set up Augustus III. as his com-
 petitor, hoping that, notwithstanding the infor-
 mality of this choice, it would tend to disunite the
 rivals, and enable the House of Bourbon to obtain
 a more advantageous peace from the House of Au-
 stria. The principal difficulty attending this pro-
 ject seemed to be the unwillingness of the king of
 Prussia to contribute to the elevation of an impla-
 cable adversary.

Before the commencement of the war, his Prussi- France
 an majesty, though well acquainted with the hos- proposes
 tile intentions of Augustus, had permitted six Saxon the king
 regiments to traverse his dominions in their of Poland,
 road from Poland to Lusatia. He had offered the
 king

CHAP.

II.

Frederick's implacable enemy.

king of Poland, to take care of his interests, and to marry his daughter the princess Marianne to the son of the Emperor. Regardless of these marks of friendship, Augustus used his utmost influence to engage the republic of Poland to join the Austrian confederacy; and persuaded the Starost Wilezewsky to declare in full Diet, that the Prussian minister had bribed him with the sum of 5000 ducats. The Starost was convicted of a lie, and the Diet of Grodno rejected the treaty with Austria. Poland at that time swarmed with malecontents, who made a proposal to the king of Prussia of forming a confederacy against Augustus. Frederick, who was extremely averse to kindling the flames of discord, exhorted and persuaded these haughty Palatines, not to disturb the peace of their country. He even offered to Augustus himself, who wished at that time to return to Saxony, every imaginable security for his safe passage through Silesia. Augustus impolitely rejected this offer; undertook a tedious journey through Moravia; traversed Bohemia; and had no sooner reached Dresden, than he entered into a secret treaty with the House of Austria, for dividing that very province into which Frederick had so hospitably invited him. On such terms were the kings of Prussia and of Poland, when France proposed to the former a treaty for raising the latter to the Imperial throne.

Had

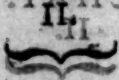
Had Frederick listened only to his resentment, he must have spurned this disgraceful overture. But sound policy required that he should not omit any opportunity of sowing dissension between two courts, which had leagued against him. The Imperial crown, and that of Poland, could not be worn by the same head; before Augustus could be qualified for accepting the one, it was necessary that he should divest himself of the other; a measure which his Prussian majesty well knew to be inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the Polish constitution. Without hesitation therefore, he consented to the chimerical project of France, a condescension which the chevalier Court ascribed entirely to the ascendancy which the councils of his master Lewis XV. had over the deliberations of Prussia.

CHAP.
II.
Frederick
consents
to the
elevation
of that
prince,
February
1745;

Frederick derived little advantage from this act of complaisance. He perceived that the exertions of the French would be confined chiefly to Flanders, the main object of their ambition, and the principal scene of their triumphs. Augustus preferred the principalities of Glogua and Sagan, with which Austria tempted him, to an unequal competition for precarious honours. For the success of the ensuing campaign, Prussia must depend on her own efforts alone. The sum of

and pre-
pares for
the ensu-
ing cam-
paign.

CHAP. 6,000,000 of crowns was drawn from the treasury.



The cavalry was remounted, the regiments of infantry were rendered complete, great magazines were formed in Silesia, and every preparation was made for repairing in 1745 the losses which had been sustained the preceding year in Bohemia.

The young elector of Bavaria concludes a treaty with Austria, April 15, 1745.

Frederick left Berlin the fifteenth of March; and learned on his road to Silesia that the young elector of Bavaria had concluded at Fuesien his separate peace with the queen of Hungary. That unfortunate prince, the son of an unfortunate father, had been betrayed by his general Seckendorf, who immediately after the demise of the late emperor had laid down the command, and left the Bavarians so much weakened by dispersion, that they fell a prey to an enemy greatly inferior in number. Their French allies, commanded by Mr. Segur, were totally defeated at Pfaffenhofen. The young elector experiencing the unhappy fate of his father and grand-father, was driven from Munich his capital, and obliged to seek protection in Augsburgh.

The cause of that measure.

Amidst these multiplied calamities, Seckendorf appeared at his clouded court, not to dispel the gloom, not like a hero who finds resources in his genius, when the vile populace despair, but as an insidious

insidious and corrupt partizan of the House of Austria, employed to seduce a young prince destitute of experience, and overwhelmed by misfortunes. It was said, that Seekendorf received the sum of 300,000 florins from Maria Theresa; but more probably this sum was only promised him. He produced forged letters in order to misrepresent the designs of the king of Prussia, whose friendly services the late emperor had with his last breath exhorted his son never to forget. These words, which still resounded in the ears of the young prince, made his hand tremble and hesitate, while he signed the treaty of Fuesen, by which he disclaimed all gratitude to that monarch, desisted from his pretensions to any part of the inheritance of Charles VI. and promised his vote at the diet of election for the grand duke of Tuscany. In return for this favour the court of Vienna engaged to reinstate him in his electorate, to exempt that country from farther contributions, and to allow his auxiliaries to return unmolested to their respective homes. But, in contempt of these articles, the Hessians were immediately disarmed, and carried prisoners into Hungary; and the contributions raised in Bavaria were, under the name of arrears, continued and aggravated. Thus ended the unfortunate league of Frankfort. The emperor dies, his son engages to promote the success of his father's rival, the

CHAP.
II.April 22,
1745.Injustice
of the
court of
Vienna.

CHAP. grand duke is declared emperor, and the treaty of
 II. Warlaw unites the half of Europe against the king
 of Prussia. But that prince had already prepared
 for making a vigorous defence, and the ensuing
 summer was irrevocably to decide his doom.

The
 French
 campaign
 in Italy,
 1745;

The campaign opened in Italy and in Flanders, in both which countries the House of Bourbon triumphed over its enemies. Mr. Gages, who commanded the Spaniards and Neapolitans, defeated successively prince Lobkowitz, count Shulenburg, and prince Lichtenstein. At the end of the campaign, the Spaniards were masters of almost all Lombardy, except Turin, Mantua, and some other fortified places, which they blocked up, and which they ought to have taken in order to secure their winter quarters. The citadels of Milan and Alexandria were indispensably requisite for this purpose; but the victors, intoxicated by success, reposed on their laurels, and having exerted themselves vigorously and skilfully during a long career, unseasonably lost breath, when they were ready to touch the goal.

In Flanders,
 1745.

In Flanders, Lewis XV. had set himself at the head of an army of 80,000 men, which was in effect commanded by marshal Saxe. The Duke of Cumberland and marshal K nigseck could
 oppose

oppose the enemy with only 50,000 men, the Pre-CHAP.
 tender's invasion of Scotland having obliged II.
 George II. to withdraw part of his troops from
 Flanders. The French invested Tournay, and their Mar. 11.
 decisive victory near the village of Fontenoy gave
 them not only the besieged city, but Ghent, Bruges,
 and Oudenarde. The campaign closed with the
 surrender of Neuport, Dendermonde, Ostend, and
 Aeth; having greatly extended the frontiers of
 France in a country where she has always been
 most ambitious of conquests.

The French and Spaniards had begun their
 operations above a month before the Prussians and
 Austrians took the field in Silesia. Towards the Frederick
 end of April, the prince of Lorraine, who was takes the
 no longer assisted by the counsels of mareschal field to
 Traun, already hovered on the frontiers of that defend
 country. The Hungarians and Hussars had com- Silesia,
 menced their incursions into Upper Silesia, in May
 order to amuse the Prussians on that side, while the 1745.
 situation of their magazines sufficiently indicated
 that the great army meant to penetrate into the
 lower province by the gorges of Landshut. If the
 Prussians divided their forces, in order to oppose
 the enemy in both districts, they must render
 their army too weak to contend with that of prince
 Charles; and if they assembled their whole strength
 into

CHAP. into one body, they must at length be reduced by
 II. the enemy's light troops to great straits for provisions. Frederick endeavoured to avoid this hard alternative, by keeping his army in force, and by bringing the enemy to an engagement as quickly as possible. For attaining these purposes, he recalled his detachments, and abandoned Upper Silesia to the ravages of the Hungarians. The greater part of his forces had already assembled at Frankenstein; and the 22d of May the Margrave Charles, at the head of 12,000 men, marched from the neighbourhood of Jagerndorf to join the camp. The Austrians, who foresaw the retreat of this prince, occupied the heights upon his road, with three batteries of cannon, which greatly harassed the Prussians on their march.

Glorious
 action at
 Jagerndorf, May
 22, 1745.

Without regarding this inconvenience, the Margrave continued to advance; and at the opening of the mountains, two regiments of Prussian cavalry attacked and defeated Ogilvy's Hussars, then poured on the regiment of Esterhazy, and repelled it with great slaughter; and charging for the third time, routed Gotha's dragoons, and put many of the fugitives to the sword. The *irregulars* in the Austrian army, which amounted to 20,000 men, beholding the unexpected destruction of the regular troops, fled howling to the woods. The

Margrave.

Margrave, and general Schwerin, who had com- CHAP.
manded the horse, were received in the camp of II.
Frankenstein with honours resembling a Roman
triumph; the glorious action of Jagerndorf be-
ing the first important occasion on which the Prus-
sian cavalry had signalised the superiority of their
manœuvres and discipline, by which, from the
most inanimate and most useless troops in Europe,
Frederick gradually rendered them the most en-
terprising and most useful.

Having now assembled his forces, the main ob-
ject of the king was to allure the enemy to an en-
gagement. With this view he employed a man of
Schœnberg, who served as a spy to both parties.
Frederick paid him a large sum; and in return re-
quired, as the greatest service in his power, that
he would give him intelligence of the prince of
Lorraine's motions, that the Prussians might rea-
sonably retire to Breslaw. The better to deceive
this dealer in deceit, the roads to Breslaw were re-
paired; and the traitor, who observed this circum-
stance, hastened to the Austrians to be paid for his
discovery. In order to approach the enemy, the
king moved from Frankenstein, and occupied the
ground between Striegau and Schweidnitz. The
prince of Lorraine had already advanced to Ho-
henhennerdorf, from which he might descend by
different

Frede-
rick's ar-
tifices for
bringing
the ene-
my to a
decisive
engage-
ment,
May
1745;

CHAP. different routes into the plain of Schweidnitz.

II.

Frederick examined the ground, and employed three days in preparing the roads leading towards the mountains, that there might not be any obstacle in the way to hinder him from attacking prince Charles as soon as he removed from his fastnesses.

which
are suc-
cessful.

On the 2d of June, the Austrian and Saxon generals held a council of war on the mountain of Hohenfriedberg, which commanded the whole plain, but from which they could see only a small portion of the Prussian troops, who had been carefully concealed in deep ravines, or behind the heights of Nonnenbush. This circumstance confirmed the security of the enemy, who, flattering themselves with the hope of ravaging Silesia with impunity, had concerted the operations by which they were to make themselves masters of the principal towns in that duchy; but Frederick, at the head of 70,000 men, had determined to dispute every inch of ground with the most obstinate firmness. Every day he visited his posts in person; and, on the 3d of June was the first to discover a cloud of dust, which rose from the mountains, and descended in a waving line from Kauder to Ronstock. Soon afterwards, the enemy appeared marching in eight great columns, their right flank ed by the river Striegau; and the Saxons, who
formed

formed the left, extending to Pilgrimshain. Frederick commanded his van-guard to pass the Striegau, and occupy a rock near the town of that name, and which, from a quarry that it contains, is called mount Topaze. The 4th of June, at two o'clock in the morning, the king assembled his principal officers, and settled the plan of the engagement, which was fought that day with a degree of skill and valour equal to the patience and dexterity with which it had been brought on.

CHAP.
II.

The Saxons were the first in the field, and, as they expected not to meet with any opposition, were surprised and totally defeated, before the Austrians had formed in the plain between the river Striegau and the woods of Ronstock. Having dispersed the enemy in front of his right wing, Frederick wheeled to the left, and attacked the Austrians in flank; which movement, combined with the irresistible impression of his cavalry, decided the engagement. The Saxons fled to Seyffersdorf, the Austrians to Kauder, Nadasti's hussars covering their retreat. They lost 4000 men in the battle; in which, or in the retreat, the Prussians took 7000 prisoners, besides 200 officers, and four generals. On the side of the victors, the loss hardly amounted to 1800 men.

Battle of
Hohen-
friedberg,
June 4,
1745;

This

CHAP. II. This action, though short in itself, had been prepared by long and arduous exertions; and next day the king could detach only the divisions commanded by Messrs. Winterfeld and Moulin in pursuit of the enemy. They approached prince Charles near Landshut, defeated Nadasti who covered his retreat, and pursued both to the frontiers of Bohemia. The Saxons having openly invaded Silesia, Frederick dismissed their resident from Breslaw, and recalled his envoy from the court of Dresden; declaring that it was impossible any longer to keep measures with a people who seized every opportunity to distress him.

The Silesian peasants ask permission to massacre the Roman Catholics. After reposing one day, the army followed Winterfeld's detachment to Landshut. Upon his arrival there, the king was surrounded by a crowd of 2000 peasants, craving permission to massacre the Roman Catholics, that, by this signal act of vengeance, they might retaliate at once, the many cruel persecutions which they had endured from the unrelenting bigotry of the House of Austria. Instead of granting this barbarous demand, Frederick exerted himself to prove its atrocity, and to shew its flagrant opposition to the clearest precepts of the Christian religion. The peasants listened with edification to the arguments of the royal preacher, and retired to their respective homes, ashamed of the gross impiety of their petition.

In the battle of Hohenfriedberg, the enemy had been defeated, but not destroyed. Since the departure of the Margrave Charles from Upper Silesia, the Hungarians had surprised the fortress of Cosel, and begun to extend their incursions to the neighbourhood of Breslaw and Schweidnitz. Frederick therefore determined not to remove far from that province, on which his army depended for subsistence. Having driven prince Charles to Königsgrätz, and detached Mr. Nassau with 12,000 men, to recover Cosel, it remained for the Prussians to desolate the frontiers of Bohemia, which would hinder the enemy from taking up their winter quarters in districts conveniently situated for invading Silesia. But this cautious plan of defensive war was carefully concealed from prince Charles, who being kept in continual alarm for four weeks, solicited, and at length obtained, a considerable reinforcement.

CHAP.
II.

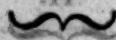
Frederick's judicious plan artfully concealed from the enemy.

In the operations which depended on himself, Frederick had not only resisted, but defeated, the ambitious designs of the House of Austria; but notwithstanding his most pressing instances, his French allies had been shamefully inactive and completely unsuccessful. Mr. Segur had joined an army commanded by the prince of Conti on the Rhine, which was intended to advance towards Frankfort,

Imprudent operations of the French, 1745.

CHAP.

II.



Frankfort, and oppose the election of the grand duke of Tuscany. This army, which occasioned such terror at Vienna, that Maria Theresa had determined to violate the golden bull by assembling the diet of election at Erford, was most injudiciously weakened by a draught of 15,000 men to carry on sieges in Flanders. Mareschal Traun, on the other hand, who commanded the troops of the empire, was most seasonably reinforced. The grand duke appeared himself in the army. Traun detached general Bœrenklau, who defeated some free companies of the enemy near Oppenheim. The prince of Conti took the alarm, and passed the Rhine at Germerheim, encamping afterwards at Worms, and then at Mauterstadt, where he was allowed to remain.

in consequence of which the grand duke of Tuscany is chosen Emperor, September 13, 1745.

The operations of this campaign, which reflects but little honour on the French arms, were totally inconsistent with the repeated and written promises of Lewis XV. and the prince of Conti, who had declared, that without risking a great battle, Maria Theresa should never seat her husband on the Imperial throne. Yet this event took place, and that battle was never fought. The French army having disappeared, the king of Prussia and the elector Palatine remonstrated and protested in vain against the injustice of sustaining the vote of Bohemia,

hemia, in express contradiction to the resolves of the former Diet; against the gross and manifest venality of the electoral college; and against the military violence which had driven from Frankfort the ambassador of the elector Palatine, whose secretary had been seized by the Austrians at the gates of that city. From one act of irregularity, the Diet proceeded to another, and finally elected, on the 13th of September, the Great Duke as Emperor, under the title of Francis I.

CHAP.
II.

Maria Theresa, who had come to Frankfort to enjoy the triumph of her husband and her own, did not bear her good fortune with the moderation becoming so great a queen. In her transactions with the princes of the empire, she affected to treat them as subjects; her behaviour to prince Charles of Hesse was something worse than impolite; in speaking of the king of Prussia, she said that his talents were disgraced by inconstancy and injustice; and publicly declared, that she would rather part with her petticoat than relinquish her design of recovering Silesia. His Prussian majesty, who had been disgusted with the feeble conduct of the court of France, had availed himself of the concern of George II. for the interests of his electorate, to negotiate a treaty with that prince at Hanover, on the basis of the peace of Breslaw. By his

Haughtiness of the Empress Queen, and her resolution to crush Frederick.

His treaty at Hanover with George II. August 1745.

CHAP. his secret emissaries, he had thrown out some proposals of accommodation to the *Empress Queen* at Frankfort. But intoxicated with the loftiness of her new title, that princess disdained to treat on equal terms with one whom she wished to represent as a rebel; and who, she well knew, would exert himself to the utmost to defeat that plan of despotism which, since the reign of Ferdinand I. the House of Austria have attempted to establish in Germany; a plan which, could it be carried into execution, would reduce many flourishing and warlike states into languid and despicable provinces of one overgrown monarchy, that must either be oppressed by its own unwieldiness, or become dangerous to all its neighbours.

He lays
Moravia
under con-
tribution,
Septem-
ber 1745;

To the pride and obstinacy of the *Empress Queen*, Frederick opposed his usual activity and perseverance. General Nassau regained Cosel; drove the enemy from Lower Silesia; advanced with his little army to Troppau; and laid several circles of Moravia under contribution. The great Prussian and Austrian armies remained meanwhile in Bohemia, respectively encamped at Clum and Kæniggraetz, and in sight of each other.

—Prince Charles was now assisted by the duke d'Arenberg and prince Lobkowitz, a considerable reinforcement had arrived from the army on

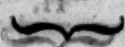
the

the Rhine; and Maria Theresa had commanded CHAP. II.
 these princes to act offensively, hoping that the
 same good fortune, which had crowned her husband, would cover her troops with laurels. Having and defo-
 ing foraged the country around Clum, the Prus- lates the
 sians, on the 18th September, passed the Elbe, and frontiers
 encamped at Kowalkowitz, from which place a of Bohe-
 detachment was sent to cover Brandenburg, and mia.
 defend the banks of the Oder, against a body of
 6000 Uhlans raised by the king of Poland. On
 that day, the Austrians celebrated the election of
 their Emperor with a fire of rejoicing; the name
 of the Imperial army was grateful to their ears;
 two days were spent in jollity and drinking, which
 rendered their camp a scene of riot. This was
 the critical moment, in which the Prussians might
 have attacked them with advantage; but Frede-
 rick, adhering stedfastly to the plan of campaign
 which he had laid down, moved his camp to Stau-
 dentz, and foraged the Bohemian frontier from
 Trautenau to Braunau, in order to form a bar-
 rier of sterility before Silesia, which might secure
 that country from molestation during winter.

From the inequalities of the ground, which per- The Aus-
 petually sinks into dales, or swells into mountains, trian par-
 the foraging parties encountered such difficulties, tisans
 that it was impossible to procure a bottle of hay, opposed
 without with
equal skill
by the
Prussians.

CHAP. without risking a combat. In this way of detach-

II.



The Au-
strians
burn
Traute-
nau.

ments, the partisans Trenck and Franquini were opposed with equal activity and boldness by the Prussians Du Moulin and Mællendorf. As the Austrians enjoyed the favour of the country, they soon learned that the king's troops were chiefly supplied with bread from the magazine of Trautenau. Upon this intelligence, they set fire to that wretched town, which was reduced to a heap of ruins. The Prussians however had used the precaution of concealing their corn under ground; so that the only consequence of this inhuman action was, that the Empress Queen lost a town in her kingdom of Bohemia.

Frederick
obliged to
make
great de-
tachments
from his
army,

These petty exploits served as a prelude to the great enterprise, which, in obedience to the orders of their court, the Austrian generals had long meditated. They rightly conjectured that the Prussians meant to quit Bohemia; and in order to observe their motions more nearly, prince Charles encamped at Kenigsaal, which was within a march of the Prussians at Staudentz. To oppose the vast superiority of the enemy's light troops, which harassed the Prussians on all sides, Frederick had been obliged to make many detachments from his army. Mr. Nassau was in Upper Silesia; Mr. Polentz in the new March of Brandenburg;

Mr.

Mr. Du Moulin at Schatzlar; and Mr. De Leh-
wald at Trautenau. The king's army was thus
reduced to 18,000 men, a number too inconfi-
derable completely to defend their camp, which on
the right was commanded by a hill, guarded only
by some troops of hussars. Prince Charles's army
exceeded 40,000 men; from which he was conti-
nually sending parties of four or five hundred horse,
which hovered around the Prussian camp. As the
whole face of the country was roughened by moun-
tains, intersected by narrow defiles, and covered
with woods belonging to the immense forest of
Sylva, Frederick durst not send parties of discove-
ry above half a mile beyond his camp.

CHAP.
II.

On the 29th of September, general Katzler, who
had advanced to examine the roads from Arnau
and Kenigsaal, found himself unexpectedly between
two columns of Austrians, who endeavoured to
conceal from him their numbers, by penetrating
deeply into the woods. The next day, the king
had determined to march at ten o'clock in the fore-
noon, in order to return to Silesia; and at four in
the morning was concerting with his generals the
order of their intended march, when an officer rode
up to acquaint him, that on the right of the camp
there had been discovered a long line of cavalry,
which, from the extended cloud of dust, was suf-

which is
surprised,
Septem-
ber 29,
1745.

L

pected

CHAP. expected to be the whole Austrian army. Soon afterwards, other officers arrived, and informed his Majesty that the enemy had already begun to form.

Frederick's
prudent
boldness.

Frederick, having ordered his troops to seize their arms, rode to his grand guard, that, after examining the enemy's position, he might determine with the more certainty by what manœuvres it would be most prudent to oppose this unexpected attack. The Prussians could retreat only by the roads leading to Trautenau, which were so embarrassed and so intricate, that the enemy having already formed in order of battle, it seemed more prudent to risk an engagement with far superior numbers, than to attempt a dangerous retreat, which must have soon degenerated into an ignominious flight. By wheeling a quarter circle to the right, Frederick made front to the Austrians, a movement executed with great precision, notwithstanding the fire of twenty-eight pieces of cannon, and grenades innumerable which were thrown among the cavalry. Before the Prussian left could entirely leave the camp, the right was exposed half an hour to the Austrian artillery. The Prussian infantry, however, remained firm; and Frederick ordered general Buddenbrock, who commanded his horse, to attack the hostile cavalry, which were arranged in three lines, and awkwardly armed with carabines.

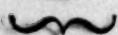
The battle of
Sohr,
near
Traute-
nau, Sep-
tember
29, 1745.

carabines. Besides this disadvantage, their ground had been injudiciously chosen, wanting depth, and having in rear a dangerous ravine. The Prussians charged them vigorously, and with such superiority of action and effect, that Mr. Goltz, with only twelve Prussian, defeated fifty Austrian, squadrons. The success of the cavalry encouraged the Prussian infantry to attack repeatedly, and at length to dismount, the enemy's batteries; which success enabled them to take the Austrians in flank, and decide the victory. The surface of the ground being a perpetual variation of hill and dale, occasioned many partial renewals of the combat. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick advanced to gain an eminence where the resistance had been firmer than elsewhere, and which, strange to tell! was defended by his brother prince Lewis. The Prussians at length prevailed; and the retreat of the enemy now degenerated on all sides into a shameful flight. The king stopped the pursuit at the village of Sohr, from which the battle takes its name. That village is contiguous to the forest of Sylva, the vicinity of which rendered it improper to follow the enemy farther, lest by rashly attempting too much, the victory might have been reduced to nothing. During the engagement, in which the Imperialists must have lost a great many men, since even the victors acknowledged the loss of 1000, the Austrian hussars

Two brothers, princes of Brunswick, fighting on opposite sides.

CHAP.

II.



plundered the Prussian camp. The king, as well as many of his officers, lost their baggage. His Majesty's secretaries were also taken prisoners. Mr. De Lehwald, who had heard at Trautenau the noise of cannon, advanced seasonably to dispel that cloud of pillagers, and to put an end to the inhuman brutality with which the licentious and cruel Hungarians treated the women and the sick. Such atrocious barbarities ought to cover with eternal infamy those who commit, and those who tolerate, them. It must be acknowledged that the Prussian soldiers are distinguished more eminently by their humanity, than even by their bravery itself; and have on many occasions discovered such an elevation of mind and generosity of character, as could not have been expected from men of inferior condition.

The Prussians
canton-
ed in
Silesia,
October,
1745.

Having remained five days on the field of battle at Sohr, and completely foraged the country in the neighbourhood of Trautenau, the army decamped on the 16th October, and returned into Silesia by the way of Schatzlar. The troops were placed in quarters of cantonment in the fertile and flourishing country between Schweidnitz and Ronstock; and the king returned to Berlin, in order to reanimate the negotiations for peace, which had begun to languish, and to provide resources for continuing

tinuing the war, should his enemies drive him to that hard necessity. CHAP.
II.

The treaty concluded with George II. at Hannover, was so far from producing any beneficial effects, that, by alienating the court of France from the interests of the king of Prussia, it had enabled the Austrians to employ their whole strength against that prince. The disturbances in his domestic government had greatly diminished the influence of George over the resolutions of the court of Vienna; and the rebellion in Scotland, which had been intended as a diversion in favour of the French arms in Flanders, operated not less powerfully in favour of the Empress Queen, who, disdaining the remonstrances of her ancient confederate, now embarrassed at home, prepared to carry on the war against Prussia with more vigour than ever. But the success of the Austrian generals had not corresponded with the sanguine hopes of their queen; and Frederick suspended in the churches of Berlin the numerous trophies of the victories of Friedberg and Sohr, which seemed sufficiently decisive to bend the obstinacy of Maria Theresa, and to humble the pride of Augustus.

Frederick returns to Berlin, and celebrates his victories, November 8, 1745.

But on the day allotted for that ceremony, he was informed of a design still more dangerous than The dangerous conspiracy

CHAP. than any that he could have conceived the wick-

II.

of the
Austrians
and
Saxons,
November
1745;

edness or boldness of his enemies capable of forming. — Since the marriage of the heir of the Swedish throne with the princess Ulrica of Prussia, the Swedes rather leaned to the interest of Frederick; and Messrs. Rudenschild and Wolfenstirna, respectively ministers of Sweden at the courts of Berlin and Dresden, were personally attached to that prince. Wolfenstirna, in his visits at the house of count Bruhl, discovered, through the indiscretion of that ambitious and resentful minister, who was highly offended at some expressions in the Prussian memorials, that the Austrians and Saxons, instead of going into winter quarters, had determined to unite their forces, its object. and march straight to Berlin. Wolfenstirna communicated this design to Rudenschild, who gave intimation of it to the king of Prussia. His majesty's information added, that the plan had been formed by Bruhl at Dresden, corrected by Bartenstein at Vienna, and transmitted by Mr. Saul, Bruhl's confidential agent, to the Empress Queen at Frankfort. Trusting to the effect of this bold measure for crushing his Prussian majesty, the courts of Dresden and Vienna had disdained the pacific overtures of George II. not doubting that the Empress Queen would soon recover Silesia, and the king of Poland make himself master of

Magde-

Magdebourgh, Halberstadt, and Hall, together CHAP.
II.
with their surrounding districts. Soon after, Frederick was informed that the Austrian general Grune had advanced with 7000 men to Gera in order to join the Saxons at Leipzig; and that magazines had been formed in Lusatia for the service of Prince Charles's army, which was soon expected in that province.

In this dangerous emergency, Frederick consulted with the experience of the old prince of Anhalt, and with the discernment of count Podewils, his Majesty's secretary for foreign affairs; but the Prince, from the suspicion and obstinacy natural to old age, and the Count, from timidity and avarice, because he had lent his money in Saxony, were both of them extremely unwilling to credit the information which his Majesty had received. The former, however, was commanded immediately, to assemble an army at Hall; and the latter, to draw the dispatches for foreign courts, containing an account of the plan formed by his Majesty's enemies, and of his resolution to anticipate their hostilities.

The letters from Saxony and Silesia added new circumstances of terror to the alarming intelligence which his Majesty had already received.—
There Takes
the com-
mand in
Silesia,
November
14, 1745.

CHAP. II. There was reason to apprehend lest Grune's detachment, amounting to 7000 men, should march straight to Berlin. To oppose this invasion, Frederick determined to leave in that capital general Haake with 5000 men, a garrison insufficient to defend a city two German miles in circumference, and which was therefore ordered to sally forth and attack the Austrians, before they approached the walls. At the same time, precautions were taken for transporting, in case of necessity, the royal family, the supreme councils, and public archives, to a safe asylum at Stettin. The king likewise wrote a pathetic letter to his ally, Lewis XV. craving speedy and effectual aid; and on the 14th of November, departed from Berlin to command his army in Silesia, affecting gaiety of countenance with deep anxiety at heart, leaving his subjects in consternation, his enemies flushed with hope, and all Europe attentive to the issue of a campaign, commenced at a season when armies usually retire into winter quarters.

His stratagems

Having arrived the 15th at Lignitz, Frederick learned that 6000 Saxons had already entered Lusatia, and that the Austrians prepared to follow them. General Hohenems had likewise received orders from the court of Vienna to invade Lower Silesia. The Prussian army amounted to

30,000

30,000 men, chiefly veterans, accustomed to victory, and who, being now refreshed by a repose of four weeks, were ready to undertake the most hazardous enterprizes. His Majesty's design was to allow the enemy to pass his quarters on the Silesian frontier, and then to attack them by surprise, to harass their rear, intercept their convoys, and either to compel them to a disadvantageous engagement, or to force them to a disgraceful retreat into Bohemia. For executing this plan, he employed similar stratagems with those which he had contrived before the battle of Hohenfriedberg.—Affecting scrupulously to respect the Saxon territory, he seemed only solicitous to anticipate prince Charles at Crossen, in order to guard the banks of the Oder, and to defend Brandenburg. As if he had intended to pursue that northern route, the roads were prepared and the magazines were formed; the banks of the three rivers on the western frontiers of Silesia, the Neisse, the Queisse and the Bober, were carefully guarded; all passengers were allowed to enter into that province, but none were allowed to return into Lusatia; by which means the Prussians procured intelligence of the enemy's motions, and completely concealed their own. Prince Charles, meanwhile, passed the Neisse, and advanced in cantonments, extending from Gärnitz to Lauban, imagining that the Prussians

fians

CHAP. II. fians still remained in their winter quarters, and that he had nothing before him but a detachment of 3000 men, who had been sent to observe his motions.

Surprises
the Sax-
ons at
Hennerf-
dorf, 23d
November
1745.

But Frederick had already advanced to Naumburg; and having crossed a marsh which the enemy judged impracticable, surprised a division of the Saxons at Hennersdorf, the thick fog which prevailed that day entirely concealing his approach. Having encamped at that place, he exhorted his troops to endure cheerfully the fatigues of a few days, that they might repel the enemy without risking a battle. The one half of the army was unprovided with tents; many regiments had breeches only of linen; yet all of them expressed the greatest readiness to submit to every hard duty that necessity imposed.

Marches
in quest
of the
enemy,
24th No-
vember
1745;

In order to profit of this disposition in his own men, and of the terror excited in the enemy by the loss of their quarters at Hennersdorf, Frederick marched next day in quest of prince Charles. The fog grew so thick, that it became necessary to advance with much caution. Having proceeded to Leopoldshain, the king learned from his scouts, that the Austrians retired on all sides, and that the roads were covered with their over-
turned

turned waggons and forsaken baggage. Next day CHAP. II.
 the Prussians took Gærlitz, the capital of Lusatia, and advanced on the 27th to Ostritz, and thence to Zittau on the Bohemian frontiers, where Mr. Winterfeld attacked prince Charles's rear guard, and made 350 prisoners. The whole expedition lasted but five days. The Austrians abandoned their magazines, forsook their baggage, and returned into Bohemia, weakened by the loss of 5000 men. Frederick returned to Gærlitz, and refreshed his troops in the fertile district between the Neisse and the Sprey, detaching Mr. Winterfeld with only five battalions and as many squadrons to Silesia; in order to harass general Hohenems in flank, while Mr. Nassau attacked him in front. Their combined endeavours were crowned with success. In the space of twenty-four hours, Silesia was recovered from the invaders; and Hohenems, who surpassed prince Charles in the promptitude of his retreat, was equally unfortunate in the loss of his magazines and his baggage.

who re-
 treat into
 Bohemia
 with the
 loss of
 5000
 men, No-
 vember
 1745.

During these operations in Lusatia, Frederick had not received any intelligence of the success of the prince of Anhalt, who had assembled his army on the banks of the Saale between Hall and Merseburgh, in Saxony. To co-operate with that western army, and to alarm Dresden itself, Mr. Lehwald

Prince of
 Anhalt's
 expedi-
 tion in
 Saxony,
 Novem-
 ber 1745.

CHAP.

II.

wald was detached with 10 battalions and 20 squadrons to Bautzen, and the banks of the Elbe. The Saxons spread a report that Grune had passed that river at Turgau, and proceeded to Berlin; but it was soon discovered that the flight of prince Charles had deterred Grune from that bold measure; that the prince of Anhalt had got possession of Leipzig; and that the Saxons had been collected under count Rutowsky in order to defend their capital. Upon this intelligence, Frederick immediately wrote the prince of Anhalt to hasten forward to Meissen, where Lehwald's detachment would be in readiness to join him; and during a recess from the fatigues of war, which was necessary for the refreshment of his troops, endeavoured to renew his negotiation for peace with the king of Poland, by means of Mr. Villiers, English envoy at Dresden.

Frederick's negotiation with the court of Dresden.

Amidst the dangers which threatened Prussia before the king's departure from Berlin, the Russian minister had declared to him in the name of the Empress, That should his Majesty invade Saxony, Russia must send a contingent of troops to defend that electorate. Frederick replied, that he wished to live on good terms with all his neighbours, but should any of them meditate designs dangerous to his kingdom, the threats of no power in Europe would

would hinder him from defending his subjects. The hostile declaration of Russia occasioned little uneasiness at that time to his Majesty, because the Empress could not act against him in less than six months; an interval more than sufficient for conquering the electorate of Saxony, had he ever seriously entertained any such design; but as time advanced, the intentions of that great northern power could not fail to create uneasiness, and to Frederick the moment of victory seemed the most proper juncture for establishing a moderate and solid peace: especially since his cause had been so completely abandoned by the French king, that Maria Theresa was at liberty to withdraw her army from the Rhine, which must have given her an alarming superiority of numbers in Upper Germany. He therefore wrote to Mr. Villiers, that he was ready to accommodate his differences with the king of Poland, on the same conditions which that prince could have expected before the important successes of the Prussian arms; that he wished not to extort any new concession from any of his enemies; and that the treaty of Hanover should be considered as the basis of an equitable and permanent peace, by which the memory of past injuries might be for ever obliterated, and the belligerent powers reinstated in the dominions which they respectively enjoyed before the commencement of the war.

Villiers

CHAP.

II.

Unseafonable
haughtiness and
ambition
in that
court.

Villiers hastened to the court of Augustus III.

with the eagerness of a man who comes to tell good news. The king received him coldly, and answered him peevishly, That he would consider what measures he ought to embrace in the present juncture. But count Bruhl, implacable in his hatred to the king of Prussia, explained himself more clearly to the English minister. Prince Charles had already passed the Elbe at Leutmeritz, and was marching towards Saxony : this army, if joined to that of Rutowsky and the forces commanded by count Grune, would outnumber the Prussians, who amounted to 80,000 men. Bruhl hoped to bring about this junction ; and by obtaining a decisive victory, to accomplish his favourite design of dividing the Prussian dominions between his master and the Empress Queen. Elated with this great project, he displayed ostentatiously the vast resources of Saxony, talked with much confidence of the assistance promised by Russia, and concluded by saying, that, from respect to the King of Great Britain, he would deliver to Mr. Villiers a memorial, containing the conditions on which alone the king of Poland would accept peace. Next day that prince left his capital, and removed to Prague ; his two eldest sons retired to Nurnberg. After the departure of the court, a Saxon counsellor consigned to Villiers the promised memorial, demanding

ing that the Prussians should immediately evacuate Saxony, restore the contributions which they had exacted, and indemnify the king of Poland for the expence occasioned by their invasion and retreat. Villiers sent this writing to Frederick, assuring him of the friendship of George II. and adding, that he by no means warranted the declaration of the court of Dresden.

CHAP.
II.

Combining these circumstances, Frederick plainly perceived that he could not negotiate successfully without arms in his hands. He therefore moved his quarters to Bautzen, while Mr. Lehwald advanced to Kænigsbruck, within a German mile of Meissen; but that town, being on the left side of the Elbe, could not be taken without the co-operation of the prince of Anhalt, whose great age and extreme caution occasioned a very dangerous delay in his march eastward, since it allowed the enemy a precious interval, of which they might have profited, for destroying the bridge over the Elbe at Meissen, a measure that would have effectually prevented the junction of the Prussian forces; but this bridge had cost 150,000 crowns; and neither Bruhl nor his chief counsellor Hennecke, who had been raised from the condition of a footman to the rank of a minister of state, were capable of comprehending, that the fate of a king-

Frederick
deter-
mines to
risk a ge-
neral en-
gagement,
December
9, 1745.

CHAP. kingdom may depend on the demolition of a
 CHAP. bridge.

Move-
 ments of
 both ar-
 mies.

The prince of Anhalt took possession of Meissen the 12th December, and was joined next day by general Lehwald. The prince of Lorraine's army arrived the 13th in the neighbourhood of Dresden; and the Saxons, under count Rutowsky, were encamped at Kesselsdorf, on the left of the Elbe, and at an equal distance between Dresden and Meissen. At the same time the two Prussian armies put themselves in motion, the prince of Anhalt with a view to approach the enemy, and the king to occupy with fourteen battalions the important post at Meissen which the prince had just left, and to canton the rest of his troops along the right of the Elbe; by which means he was in a situation both to co-operate with the prince of Anhalt, and to oppose the Austrians, should they pass the bridge at Dresden.

Renewal
 of the ne-
 gotiation.

During these military movements, the negotiation for peace had been entirely interrupted; the king of Poland refusing to allow his unprovoked invasion of Silesia to counterbalance the less destructive and more justifiable invasion of Saxony, and threatening to avenge the disorders committed in his electorate, by the devastation of Branden-
 M
 burgh.

burgh. But upon his arrival at Meissen, Frederick received a letter from Mr. Villiers, acquainting him that the melancholy condition of Augustus's affairs had finally determined him to listen to terms of accommodation; and that the Empress Queen was willing to be included in the same treaty, provided some articles in the convention of Hanover were adjusted to her satisfaction.

CHAP.

II.

The king had scarcely read that letter, when a messenger came to tell him, that towards Dresden the whole atmosphere seemed on fire. His Majesty immediately suspected that the prince of Anhalt had engaged the enemy. Having commanded his men to seize their arms, he mounted his horse, and rode with an hundred hussars towards the scene of action. Parties of discovery were sent on all sides; a report spread, that the Austrians and Saxons had been defeated; which appeared extremely probable, because no Prussian fugitive was found straggling on the road. Satisfied with this probability, the king returned to Meissen, where an officer of the prince of Anhalt's army arrived in the evening to tell him that the enemy had been defeated with the loss of 3000 killed, and 6500 taken prisoners. The prince of Anhalt had attacked their left flank, which was but feebly supported; the Saxons had injudiciously quitted the

The battle
of Kesself-
dorf, De-
cember
15, 1745

M

village

CHAP. village of Kesselsdorf, which hindered their own
 II. cannon from firing; their infantry had been ignorantly posted, not on the front of the hill of Benerick, but rather in the back ground; and attempted not to resist the Prussians, till the latter, having overcome the disadvantage of the ground, were encouraged by this first success to perform the easier task, which yet remained, of defeating the enemy.

Irresolute
 and inconsistent
 measures
 of the
 Saxons.

Count Rutowsky and the Saxons fled in scattered disorder to Dresden, and thence to Zest, on the frontiers of Bohemia. The scarcity of forage obliged them to send their cavalry into that kingdom. The prince of Lorraine vainly opposed these disgraceful measures, which left the Prussians absolute masters of Saxony. Frederick having advanced on the 16th to Wilddrus, was attended next day by the prince of Anhalt, who showed him the field of battle, the obstacles which his troops had surmounted, and the vast number of prisoners; all which objects less surprised his Majesty than to see the whole country covered with the inhabitants of Dresden, who came forth to meet the Prussians. In 1744, when his army marched peaceably through the electorate, the gates of Dresden were shut, the garrison was augmented, batteries were raised on all sides, and no
 Prussian

Prussian was allowed to enter that capital. But CHAP. II.
 in 1745, when Saxony was invaded by an army
 of 80,000 men, Dresden was left open; the
 younger sons of Augustus, the ministers, and the
 supreme councils, all voluntarily submitted to the
 discretion of the enemy; although they had but
 four German miles to travel in order to reach
 Bohemia. With an inconsistency still more un-
 accountable, a body of 6000 militia, which might
 have served to recruit the Saxon army, was thrown
 into a city which there was not any intention to
 defend.

On the 18th, the king having occupied the Frederick
 suburbs, summoned the governor to surrender; enters
 the latter replied, that Dresden was not a town of Dresden,
 war; and instead of a capitulation, the ministers December 18,
 sent a memorial. Frederick entered the city, dis- 1745.
 armed the militia, and distributed them among
 his troops, who were commanded to avoid giving
 the smallest offence to the innocent citizens. He
 took prisoners 415 officers, and 1500 men, who
 had escaped from the battle of Kesselsdorff; but
 visited the sons of Augustus, and endeavoured to
 soften their misfortunes by the most distinguished
 marks of regard; even the garrison of the castle
 was subjected to their command.

CHAP.

II.

Aburd
calumny
refuted.

Notwithstanding the moderate behaviour of his Majesty, the most injurious reports were spread respecting his intentions in taking possession of the Saxon capital. — It was said that the prince of Anhalt, whose stern and unfeeling character in some measure justified the reproach, had asked permission for his troops to plunder Dresden; and that the king, to animate their exertions in the battle, had granted that atrocious request. But such an absurd calumny could be believed only by the most childish credulity. The prince of Anhalt would never have dared to make this barbarous proposal to the king; he would never have ventured to offer the plunder of Dresden to officers inspired with honour, and soldiers inured to discipline.

Frede-
rick's
modera-
tion in
prosper-
ity.

To comply with established custom, Frederick allowed the *Te Deum* to be sung in the churches, and the Opera of Arminius, the decorations of which were at hand, to be performed in the theatre. Even this frivolous amusement had been employed by count Bruhl as an engine of policy. The Clemency of Titus had been represented, when Sulkowsky was disgraced for pretended crimes, in order to make room for his supplanter. Arminius had been acted during the late war, in allusion to the assistance which Augustus III. afforded the

Empress

Empress Queen against the French and Prussians. CHAP.

II.

The flattering accents of Italian poetry, enriched by the harmony of music, persuaded Augustus that he was the model of princes, and the delight of humanity. On the present occasion, two verses were omitted,

“ Sulle ruine altrui alazar non pensi il foglio
Colui chi al sol orgoglio riduce ogni virtù ;”

not indeed as applicable to Augustus, but exactly descriptive of Frederick, who, “ animated by glory only, disdained to trample on a fallen adversary.” Driven from his capital, and deprived of his revenues, the king of Poland was offered peace on such terms as he could scarcely have expected before his disasters. Count Harrach, who arrived from Vienna as plenipotentiary for the Empress Queen, expressed his astonishment at Frederick’s moderation in prosperity, and thanked his Majesty for the readiness with which he consented to an accommodation. The treaty was signed the 25th December, 1745. On the part of Austria, it was a simple renewal of the peace of Breslaw. The king of Poland was reinstated in the possession of his dominions, on consenting to pay a contribution of one million of crowns, for which his electorate stood engaged, and promising never thenceforth to grant free passage through his territories to the enemies of his Prussian Majesty.

Peace of
Dresden,
Decem-
ber 25,
1745.

During

CHAP. II. During two campaigns, which together lasted sixteen months, the Prussians took 45,666 prisoners, and expended eight millions of crowns. At the conclusion of the peace, the Prussian treasury contained only 150,000 crowns; the king of Poland was obliged to mortgage his revenues; and the finances of Maria Theresa, notwithstanding the subsidies which she received from England, were reduced to the lowest ebb. The main object of the war had been defeated by the unexpected death of the Emperor Charles VII. and a series of victories only served to confirm Frederick in the possession of Silesia.

Duration,
expende,
and con-
sequence
of the
war.

CHAP. III. The second campaign, in the reign of Frederick, was the most remarkable in modern times, for the variety and importance of events, the number of battles fought, the quantity of blood spilt and of treasure expended, the perseverance of fruitless exertions, and the suddenness of unexpected reversions. Having foreseen the obstinacy and danger of this conflict, to which the relinquishment of the House of Austria would seize the first opportunity of provoking him, Frederick resolved to

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Domestic improvements in Prussia between 1746 and 1756. State of Austria. Kaunitz's intrigues at Versailles. The treaty of London. Alliance of the great powers. Frederick invades Saxony. Defeats the Austrians at Lowositz. Defeats and takes the Saxon army at Pirna. His generosity to the vanquished. Correspondence with George II. Invades Bohemia. Battle of Prague. Alarms the diet of Ratisbon. Battle of Kolin. Duke of Cumberland's campaign. Distress of the Prussians. Battle of Rosbach. Battle of Leuthen. 100,000 Russians dispersed by a stratagem. The Swedes repelled. Frederick on all sides victorious.

THE second great act, in the reign of Frederick, was the memorable war of seven years, the most remarkable in modern times, for the variety and importance of events, the number of battles fought, the quantity of blood spilt and of treasure expended, the perseverance of fruitless exertions, and the suddenness of unexpected revolutions. Having foreseen the obstinacy and danger of this conflict, to which the resentment of the House of Austria would seize the first opportunity to provoke him, Frederick industriously employed

CHAP.
III.Domestic
improvements be-
tween the
years 1746
and 1756.

CHAP. played the precious interval of peace, in improving
 III. his domestic resources, and strengthening his foreign
 Reformation of the alliances. The reformation of the courts of justice,
 tion of the with which his Majesty observes that national re-
 courts of justice. formation ought always to begin, was intrusted to
 chancellor Cocceji. This magistrate, who united
 with the probity of an ancient Roman, the talents
 of a Tribonian, purified the Prussian tribunals
 from unworthy and corrupt members, and digested,
 under his master's eye, a new code of laws, which,
 being approved by the states, was universally pro-
 mulgated, and universally admired, by all who
 derived not any immediate advantage from the
 law's obscurity, expensiveness, or delay.

The finan- To the care of securing property, succeeded
 ces im- the labour of improving the revenue, and aug-
 proved menting the sources from which it flowed.
 by enlarg- From Swinemunde to Kustrin, the banks of the
 ing the Oder were covered with deep marshes, not only
 sources from which they flow- useless, but unwholesome. By forming a canal
 ed. from Kustrin to Wriegland, the pestilential bogs
 were drained, and 2000 families were settled on
 this new and meritorious conquest. A similar im-
 provement in the country between Schwedt and
 Stettin afforded a comfortable residence for 1200
 families. In the dutchy of Magdebourgh, it had
 been an immemorial custom to hire the inhabitants

of

of Voigland in Saxony, to assist in reaping the harvest; at the conclusion of which, these poor labourers returned to their wretched homes. By granting them lands in the duchy, Frederick engaged them to fix their residence there; and a similar policy, having attracted other indigent but industrious strangers, greatly augmented the Prussian manufactures, and covered his Majesty's dominions with 280 new villages. The plantation of mulberry-trees was promoted by the advice and example of the clergy. Founderies were established at places abundant in wood, and remote from water carriage. Productive industry was not only excited but properly directed. Manufactures of luxury were confined to Potzdam and Berlin. The new harbour of Swinemunde, at the mouth of the Oder, delivered the Prussians from the heavy toll which they had hitherto paid the Swedes for passing the Peene. The duties on exportation were diminished, while the produce of the customs was doubled: And exclusively of Silesia and East Friesland, his Majesty's dominions had gained, during ten years peace, an additional revenue of 1,200,000 crowns, without augmenting the old, or imposing any new taxes; and his subjects, including the Silesians, had become nearly twice as numerous as those of his father, Frederick William.

Industry

CHAP.

III.

Frederick enlightens his subjects and embellishes his dominions.

Industry well directed, and an increasing populousness, form the great basis of national prosperity. By giving a decided preference to agriculture, mining, and other robust and manly occupations, Frederick provided an excellent nursery for his army, which, during this long interval of peace, was greatly augmented, and completely disciplined. Berlin and Potzdam were so much enlarged and so highly adorned, that they appeared new cities. On the important concerns of education, his Majesty bestowed unexampled attention, sparing neither expence nor pains to procure good masters, and making the most salutary regulations for the improvement of the schools and colleges. The labours of his academy he encouraged, not only by a munificence truly royal, but by the example of a prince who, amidst the cares of government, found delight in the cultivation of letters.

Criticism on his literary productions.

His Memoirs of Brandenburg were written in 1746, and from that period, till involved in the tumult of the septennial war, he composed various pieces in prose and verse, which were published under the title of the "Philosophe de Sans Souci." His prose is simple and perspicuous, distinguished sometimes by a natural fluency, and sometimes by an elaborate plainness. In his correspondence with Voltaire and D'Alembert, which

is often indeed little better than a commerce of CHAP.
III.
flattery, Frederick maintains his superiority over the first literary geniuses of the age; always testifying respect for their talents, but often refuting their opinions; and while he affects to be the docile pupil of such enlightened instructors, proving that the scholar surpassed his masters as much in penetration and sagacity, as in elevation and firmness of mind. Besides the natural tameness of French poetry, which seldom admits "words that glow and thoughts that burn," it must be acknowledged that Frederick's poetical productions have something of Germanic stiffness; yet if his verses seldom flow with grace, or rise to greatness, they never sink into meanness, or confound by absurdity. He pretends, at least, to have heartily despised such trifles, and observes in a letter to Voltaire, "I have only taste enough to admire your poetry, but not judgment sufficient to hinder me from writing bad verses."

But amidst the wonderful variety of objects that occupied his capacious mind, the army, that weapon of defence and instrument of glory, still maintained its due place. His regiments were recruited from their respective districts; which produced an augmentation of 10,000 men. These troops annually assembled in camps of instruction; and

Frede-

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III.

Frederick, who knew that one good general is worth many battalions, exerted his utmost industry in alluring good officers to his service. The artillery was increased to three battalions, part of which was destined for the use of the Silesian garrisons. Schweidnitz, which is conveniently situate as a place of arms for invading Bohemia, was carefully fortified with that view: the works of Neisse, Cosel, Glatz, and Glogau, were repaired. Great magazines were provided of whatever is necessary for the equipment and subsistence of troops; so that at the out-break of the war in 1756, his Majesty was prepared to keep the field for several campaigns, without having recourse to the purses of his subjects; a precaution which he thought necessary “against the boldness and animosity of the Empress Queen, an enemy ambitious and vindictive, the more dangerous because a woman, obstinate in her opinions, and implacable in her hatred.”

State of
Austria,
1746—
1756.

Endowed with singular talents for government, Maria Theresa had repaired, by her good management, the losses sustained in the former war. Her revenues amounted to 24,000,000 of crowns, a sum greater than that enjoyed by her father, when master of Naples, Servia, and Silesia. The Emperor, her husband, who rarely inter-
ferred

ferred in matters of government, drew annually great sums from Tuscany, which he employed successfully in commerce. He set up manufactures, and lent money on pledges. He undertook to furnish the Imperial army with uniforms, arms, and horses. Associated with a count Bolza, and a merchant named Schimmerman, he farmed the revenues of Saxony; and what is more extraordinary, supplied with forage in 1756, the Prussian army, which made war against the Empress his spouse. At various times, he furnished that princess with large sums on good security, and instead of supporting the dignity of an emperor, stooped to the drudgery of a court banker.

From the unfortunate issue of preceding wars, Maria Theresa learned the necessity of introducing a better discipline in her army. During the spring and autumn, she formed camps in the provinces, which she often visited, in order to encourage the troops by her presence and her bounty. None ever knew better than this princess, the art of enhancing the value of those imaginary rewards which sovereigns can so easily and so cheaply bestow; and none ever possessed more completely the rare and happy talent, of exciting in those who approached her person, emulation, exertion, zeal, and a resolution to risk their all, in order to obtain her

Augmen-
tation of
its mili-
tary
strength.

CHAP. her favour. Under the direction of prince Lichtenstein, the artillery was augmented to six battalions; an example which produced that great use, or rather abuse of cannon, which now universally prevails. A military school was established at Vienna, and soon adorned with eminent professors in history, geography, and the mathematics. By these institutions, the Austrian army acquired under Maria Theresa such perfection as it never had attained under any emperor of her august house; and a woman thus accomplished designs worthy of a great man.

Count
Kaunitz's
intrigues
at the
court of
Ver-
sailles.

Amidst these military preparations, count Kaunitz, a man so frivolous in his tastes, but so profound in business, and who for upwards of thirty years has acted the first part at the Imperial court, was sent as ambassador to Versailles; where his anxiety to recover Silesia for his mistress laboured with infinite assiduity and unexampled address. He often repeated to the ministers of Lewis XV. that the aggrandisement of Prussia was their work, in return for which they could expect nothing but ingratitude from a prince who was entirely governed by interest. Skilfully improving the impression which he perceived his language began to make, he was heard to declare, as if the force of conviction had emboldened his sentiments, "That

the

the time was now come, when the French ought CHAP. III.
 to emancipate themselves from the influence of the
 kings of Prussia and Sardinia, and a number of
 petty princes who studiously sowed dissension be-
 tween the great powers of Europe, in order to
 benefit themselves. Excited by *their* artifices, the
 courts of Versailles and Vienna were continually
 contriving schemes hostile to each other, and hurt-
 ful to both; whereas in conformity to the rules
 of just policy, they ought rather to adopt such a
 system of public conduct, as would remove every
 ground of difference or jealousy, and lay the founda-
 tion for a solid and permanent peace." These
 notions had at first appeared altogether extrava-
 gant to a people, who, since the rivalry of Francis
 I. and Charles V. considered the houses of
 Bourbon and Austria as irreconcilable enemies.
 But as prince Kaunitz dexterously seized every op-
 portunity of renewing the charge with effect, the
 French ministry began at length to be flattered
 with the idea of two great powers giving law to
 Europe; and the doctrine of the Imperial ambas-
 sador continually gained proselytes. Lord Tyr-
 connel, French envoy at Berlin, frequently talk-
 ed ostentatiously of the independence of the *great*
powers; and on one occasion, forgot himself so
 far as to boast, "That should the king of Prussia
 equivocate but ever so little, France would with-
 draw

CHAP. draw her protection, in which case he must infal-
libly be crushed."

Overtures
of the
French to
Frederick.

Soon afterwards, the war broke out between France and England, respecting the limits of Canada; in which contest, prudence required his Prussian majesty to observe a strict neutrality. But the French ministry seemed to believe that Frederick, in consequence of his treaty with Lewis XV. which was not to expire till May 1756, ought to be considered as a subordinate prince, bound to engage in every quarrel, to which his paramount thought proper to summon him. They conjectured likewise, that by invading the electorate of Hanover, they would oblige George II. to settle his differences with France on easy terms. Upon these presumptions, Mr. Rouillé, secretary for foreign affairs, said to the Prussian envoy at Versailles, "Write, I entreat you, to your master, that he may assist us in invading Hanover. There is abundance of plunder in that country—the coffers of George are always well plenished—Frederick has only to seize them." His Prussian majesty desired his minister to reply, "That such propositions were totally unsuitable to his master's character."

Frederick
concludes
a treaty
with

Meanwhile George II. alarmed for the safety of his electorate, proposed to the court of Berlin a

treaty

treaty for maintaining the tranquillity of Germany. CHAP.
 This treaty seemed more advisable than a renewal III.
 of the alliance with France; yet, before finally George
 concluding it, Frederick wished to sound the in- II. Janu-
 tentions of Russia; and the chancellor Bestuchew, ary 16,
 who governed that court, being his declared enemy, 1756.
 he applied to Lord Holderness, secretary of state
 in England, to know whether Maria Theresa or
 George II. had most influence with Elizabeth and
 her ministers. Lord Holderness replied, That Eng-
 land and Russia stood on the most friendly terms.
 Mr. Klinggræff, Frederick's envoy at Vienna,
 observed, That as the Russians were a people totally
 governed by avarice, there could not be the small-
 est doubt that they were better disposed towards
 England, which could pay them large subsidies,
 than towards Maria Theresa, who had not any mo-
 ney to spare. Information to the same purpose
 was given by the Prussian minister at the Hague;
 and Frederick thinking it improbable that so many
 persons, and those so remote from each other, should
 entertain the same error, concluded his alliance
 with George II. the 16th January, 1756. This
 treaty contained four articles, of which the three
 first reciprocally guaranteed the dominions of the
 contracting powers; the fourth contained a stipu-
 lation for preventing the entrance of foreign troops
 into Germany; and by a secret article, the Aus-
 trian

CHAP. III. trian Netherlands were excepted from this stipulation, and the sum of 20,000*l.* was to be paid to the Prussian merchants, as an indemnification for the captures made by the English during the former war.

Duke of
Niver-
nois's ne-
gotiation
at Berlin.

The ratification of this treaty, which had been concluded at London, arrived at Berlin, about a month after the duke de Nivernois had been sent to the latter capital, as ambassador from Lewis XV. to concert measures with Frederick for the invasion of Hanover. The strongest argument, which Nivernois used with his Majesty was that of offering him the sovereignty of the desert island of Tobago. Frederick smiled at the singularity of this proposal, and entreated the duke to discover some person fitter than himself, to be governor of the island of Barataria. Having declined in the politest terms to accept the proposals of France, his Majesty candidly shewed Mr. de Nivernois the original of his treaty with England. The news of this transaction occasioned an universal outcry at Versailles, where nothing was talked of by courtiers and ministers, but the defection of the king of Prussia, who perfidiously deserted his ancient protectors; and their violence of reproach and grossness of abuse made it probable that France would not long confine her resentment to these unworthy means of vengeance.

Yet

Yet Frederick, as a sovereign prince, was entitled to change his allies. In this particular, Maria Theresa had been willing to set him the example; and the treaty of London immediately quickened the seeds which prince Kaunitz had sown. The alliance between France and Austria, which was proposed by count Starenberg, the Imperial minister at Versailles, was ratified on the part of his most Christian majesty, by Mr. Rouillé and the Abbé (now Cardinal) Bernis, the 9th May, 1756. This famous treaty, which was announced with much ostentation, as the union of the great powers, contained a mutual promise between the contracting parties, of reciprocally assisting each other with 24,000 men, in case either of them should be attacked in any part of their dominions.

Elated with this success, Maria Theresa precipitated the execution of her vengeance against Frederick; and the Empress Catharine, contrary to the expectation of all politicians, chose rather to break with England, than to maintain a good correspondence with any power that acknowledged his Prussian majesty for its ally. In consequence of this animosity, which had been excited, and which was artfully fomented by the creatures of Maria Theresa, the Russians formed a camp in

CHAP. III.

Defensive
alliance
between
France
and Au-
stria,
May 9,
1756.

Russia
and Sax-
ony enter
into the
confede-
racy for
crushing
the king
of Prussia,
1756.

CHAP.
III.

Livonia, 50,000 strong; while the Austrians collected magazines, and assembled two armies in Bohemia, one of which was commanded by prince Piccolomini at Kæniggrætz, and the other by marshal Braun at Prague. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, entered warmly, but secretly, into all the projects of the court of Vienna. By a private channel Frederick learned completely the designs of his enemies. A clerk in the chancery of Dresden regularly delivered to the Prussian envoy at that court, the weekly dispatches from St. Petersburg and Vienna; by which it appeared that Russia meant not to commence hostilities that year, her fleet not being in a condition to sail; but promised to make vigorous exertions in the ensuing spring. In consequence of this intelligence, Frederick contented himself with sending twenty squadrons and ten battalions to Stolpe in Pomerania; a post which, being thus occupied, could not create much jealousy in the enemy, and which was yet conveniently situate for sending assistance, in case of danger, to marshal Lehwald, who commanded at Kænigsberg.

Frederick
prepares
to anticipate
the
designs of
his ene-
mies.

Meanwhile the Dresden dispatches became daily more alarming. The Empress Queen, destitute of a better pretence for making war, intended employing for that purpose a difference between his

Prussian

Prussian majesty and the Duke of Mecklenburgh. CHAP. III.
 The Prussians had been accustomed to recruit some
 regiments in the duchy of Mecklenburgh: this
 privilege, which had been long exercised, the
 Duke angrily opposed; Frederick had done justice
 to himself; and this insignificant matter, which
 had been adjusted and forgotten, the court of Vi-
 enna intended to consider as an infringement of
 the treaty of Westphalia, and to require all the
 guarantees of that treaty to avenge the wrongs of
 the Duke of Mecklenburgh, and to chastise the
 audacity of the Prussians. This hostile resolution,
 and the movements of three armies on his fron-
 tiers, obliged Frederick to demand categorically
 of the Empress Queen, whether she meant to
 keep the peace, or to break it. The answer of
 prince Kaunitz, now prime minister at Vienna,
 was evasive. He wished to perplex Frederick by
 ambiguities, and to compel him to commence
 hostilities. But as the Dresden dispatches spoke
 a clearer language, the odious *name* of aggressor,
 could not alarm a prince, who was sufficiently en-
 lightened to know that those are *really* aggressors,
 whose measures oblige their neighbour to arm in
 his own defence. The Russians were not yet ready
 to enter upon action, but their preparations were
 vigorous; the Saxon army was as yet only 18,000
 strong, but it might be augmented in the winter

CHAP.

III.

to 40,000 men. In this situation of affairs, was it to be expected that Frederick's irresolution or false delicacy should allow his numerous enemies to assault him on all sides at once? The safety of the house of Brandenburg was at stake; and the king's duty to his family and his subjects determined him to set vain formalities at defiance. Having signified to the court of Vienna, that he considered prince Kaunitz's answer as a declaration of war, he prepared to resist the designs of the most formidable confederacy that Europe had ever formed against a single prince.

Determines to make himself master of Saxony.

In order to cover Brandenburg, and to carry the war into Bohemia, it was necessary to be master of Saxony, because, unless he commanded that electorate, Frederick left an enemy behind him, who, by intercepting the free navigation of the Elbe, as had already happened in the campaign of 1744, might have rendered his expedition fruitless. Some Prussian regiments, therefore, were commanded to march southwards from Pomerania; in consequence of which movement, the Saxons occupied a post between the Elbe and the Muldau. They soon quitted however that post, entered into their ordinary quarters, and having thus dispersed themselves through the country, again assembled in their cantonments. Their marches

marches and counter-marches did not deceive the king, who knew that until their auxiliaries arrived, they would fix their camp at Pirna, a place ten miles distant from Dresden, where nature had formed a natural fortress, that disdained the assistance of art.

The town of Pirna is situate in a hollow, defended on the west by high rocks, on the north by the fort of Kohlberg, and a ravin eighty feet deep. The south is protected by the mountains of Sonnenstein, and the east is rendered inaccessible by the Elbe, whose current, compressed between rocks, flows with rapidity in a narrow and deep channel.

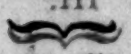
Descripti-
on of
Pirna.

Frederick determined that his army should march in three divisions, and rendezvous in the neighbourhood of Dresden. The first division, which advanced from Magdeburgh, was commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; the second by the prince of Bevern, and the third by his Majesty in person. Having arrived at the place of their destination, they found the Saxons encamped at Pirna, under the command of the king of Poland, their elector. The Queen had remained at Dresden, which was not even garrisoned. Frederick sent to compliment her Majesty; and his troops, in taking possession of the capital, observed the

Frederick
invades
Saxony,
and publishes the
dispatches seized at
Dresden,
August
1756.

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the strictest discipline. The army next day proceeded to Pirna; the Saxons were completely blocked up in their camp; and being better prepared for writing than fighting, they endeavoured to set on foot a negotiation, which, as it seemed intended merely to amuse, his Prussian Majesty rejected. Their complaints, couched in terms the most injurious to the Prussians, soon resounded through Germany. In order to undeceive the public, Frederick felt the necessity of obtaining the originals of the Dresden dispatches, and of the hostile negotiations of the king of Poland; because, had he published the copies, of which he was already in possession, his enemies would not have hesitated to accuse him of forgery. He gave orders, therefore, that the originals should be seized; the Queen remonstrated in vain; the archives of Dresden were ransacked, and the obnoxious papers were found, carefully packed up, and ready to be sent to Poland. Frederick caused them to be immediately published.

The Saxon camp, though proof against every other mode of attack, was peculiarly exposed to famine, as the passages leading to it were narrow and difficult; and the enemy had not been allowed time to form any considerable magazines. With one part of his troops, Frederick formed almost a complete

complete circumvallation around it, another served as an army of observation to intercept supplies; and the third division; which he headed in person, marched into Bohemia, to resist general Braun, who had orders from the court of Vienna to use his best endeavours for relieving the Saxons. The Prussian detachment in Bohemia scarcely amounted to half the number of the enemy; yet such was their confidence in their own bravery and the skill of their commander, that they considered themselves as at least equal in strength. Their confidence was not vain; for at Lowositz, on the left of the Elbe, his Majesty defeated general Braun, and obliged him to repass the Eger. Satisfied with obtaining this victory at the commencement of the war, he left Lowositz the 13th with fifteen squadrons, and on the 14th at mid-day rejoined his troops at Struppen near Pirna.

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III.

The Austrians defeated by Frederick at Lowositz, 1st October.

Before this time the Saxons had been reduced to great difficulties; they were dispirited by the defeat of their allies; their hopes of assistance had vanished. As their situation must continually grow more distressful, they embraced a resolution which would have been great, had it been practicable. The camp of Pirna, into which, from local circumstances, it was so difficult to enter, was, for similar reasons, equally difficult to evacuate;

The Saxon army, attempting to escape from Pirna, defeated and made prisoners, 16, 1756.

CHAP. cuate; and the Saxons, in occupying this post,
 III. had only considered how they might render it im-
 penetrable to their enemies, not by what means, in case of famine, they might themselves be enabled to escape. The rough rocks over which they had to clamber, the narrow defiles through which they had to pass, were occupied by the Prussians. They attempted however to escape by Tirmsdorf into the plain of Altstadt, through a narrow path frequented only by fishermen, leaving their cannon and baggage in the entrenchments which they had abandoned. The vigilant enemy with whom they had to contend, not only opposed them in front, but eagerly seizing the strong holds which they had left, directed some pieces of cannon against their rear. This unexpected attack converted their retreat into a flight. The king of Poland, who had posted himself on the lofty fortrefs of Kænigstein, was a melancholy spectator of the deplorable condition of his troops, deserted by their allies, destitute of bread, surrounded with enemies, and reduced to such a condition of distress, that even valour was useless. He commanded them to lay down their arms and to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Frede- In consequence of the capitulation granted to
 rick's these unfortunate men, the officers engaged not to
 generosity
 serve

serve against his Prussian Majesty during the present war, and were immediately released. His Majesty, in order to mitigate the afflictions of the king of Poland, restored to that Prince the Saxon standards and colours, granting at the same time a neutrality to the fortress of Kœnigstein. Augustus availed himself of this lenity to correspond secretly with the Empress Queen, and engaged for a small subsidy to employ six Polish regiments in her service. His misfortunes, however, had disgusted him with the war: he asked permission to travel with safety into Poland, which was readily granted; and his Prussian Majesty, with an attention due to a royal adversary in distress, commanded his own troops to retire from both sides of the road through which Augustus had to pass, that the unfortunate prince might not be offended by the sight of his armed conquerors. The 18th he departed for Warsaw with his two sons and his minister. The Saxon prisoners, who amounted to 17,000 men, were formed into twenty new battalions; but as Frederick neglected to mix with them a due proportion of his own subjects, he never derived much advantage from their service.

CHAP.
III.

to the
vanquish-
ed.

The main object of the campaign being thus happily attained, the king seized the earliest opportunity of putting his troops into winter quarters.

The Prussians go into winter quarters, November 1756.
They

CHAP. III. They formed a cordon, or line of defence, which occupied the most advantageous posts from the northern districts of Brandenburg to the southern extremity of Silesia, not only covering the frontiers of his Majesty's dominions, but securing possession of the ground which he had already gained in the territory of his enemies.

Prepara-
tions dur-
ing the
winter,
1757.

During the winter, the storms which his Majesty had foreseen, had time to collect against him; and the expedient employed in order to break their force, seemed only to increase their fury. The clamours excited by the barbarous invasion of Saxony, resounded from Vienna to St. Petersburg and Versailles. The intrigues of Maria Theresa and her ministers were assisted by the tears of the Dauphiness. Their combined force moved the pacific mind of Lewis XV. reluctantly engaged in a war with England, to send into Germany in the ensuing spring, not 24,000, but 100,000, men. The Swedes, whose magistrates had long been pensioners to France, were required to take arms; a summons which that people, once warlike, and still lovers of war, prepared to obey. In Russia, the Empress Queen represented the invasion of Saxony as an insult to the power of Elizabeth, who had guaranteed to Augustus the safety of his electorate. The pride of the court of St. Petersburg was stimulated

corrupted by the profusion of the court of Vienna, CHAP.
 which gained the Russian ministers by bribes, and III.
 Elizabeth herself by a subsidy of two millions of
 crowns. In the diet of Ratisbon the representatives
 of Maria Theresa exerted equal zeal and met with
 similar success. Through *their* intrigues, and the
 menaces of France, the holy Roman Empire
 adopted as its own the cause of the Empress Queen,
 and determined to raise what was called an army of
 execution, with a view to chastise the electors of
 Brandenburg and Hanover. It was proposed that
 these rebellious princes should be put to the ban of
 the Empire; a measure that was with some reluc-
 tance rejected, upon considering that by precipi-
 tating that harsh resolution the court of Vienna
 would commit its own dignity to the vicissitudes of
 war, and that there was some risque, lest the two
 kings, if treated with unseasonable severity, might
 separate themselves altogether from the Germanic
 body. These reflections prevented not however
 the grossest abuse from being heaped on the king
 of Prussia, both by the court of Vienna and the
 Fiscal of the empire. His Majesty caused it to be
 insinuated to both, that it became generous minds
 to make war with the sword rather than with the
 pen. His remonstrances proved ineffectual, till
 his army had gained some very important battles.

The bride of the court of St. Petersburg was the
 George

CHAP

III.

George
II. rejects
Frede-
rick's
judicious
plan of
campaign.

George II. the only powerful ally of his Prussian Majesty, was overwhelmed by domestic dissensions which threatened the safety of his kingdom. Amidst perpetual revolutions in the British ministry, the interest of the public was neglected by all parties alike; and, notwithstanding the formidable preparations of the enemy, there was not any plan formed for carrying on the war by sea or by land. The king of Prussia was too deeply concerned in the measures of England, not to think it necessary to interfere. As he foresaw, in general, what would be the tendency of the French operations in Germany, he sent to his Britannic Majesty a memoir, containing a scheme of defence for their own dominions, and those of their allies, in that country. George II. who had not bestowed much attention on subjects of that nature, distrusted Frederick's proposal, because the latter exhorted the defending of Wesel, the strongest town in his duchy of Cleves, as a place of arms, from which the allies might occasionally move towards either the Rhine or the Weser. This plan of operations his Britannic Majesty declared too extensive, and determined, in conformity to the opinion of his Hanoverian counsellors, to confine himself to the defence of the Weser; an idea palpably absurd, since that river is long, in most places fordable, and the side towards the electorate of Hanover everywhere commanded

manded by the opposite bank. His perseverance CHAP. III.
 in this extraordinary project obliged his Prussian Majesty to raise part of the fortifications of Wesel, and to send the heavy ordnance of that important place by sea to Magdeburgh. The garrison received orders to retire to Bielefield, and there to wait the arrival of the Hessians and Hanoverians, who were to assemble under the duke of Cumberland early in the spring.

During his inksome correspondence with George II. his Prussian Majesty remained at Dresden, where the intrigues of the queen of Poland gave him much trouble. That princess sent daily to compliment him, and lavished on him her assurances of friendship, but meanwhile condescended to act the part of a spy to the Austrian generals. Her correspondence was discovered, by the king's vigilance, in causing to be carefully examined at the gates all the parcels that arrived from Bohemia. This discovery, however, did not put an end to the Queen's intrigues with his Majesty's enemies; nor interrupt her endeavours to debauch from their duty the Saxon regiments which had been taken at Pirna. Her emissaries were busy in all the garrisons where these troops were stationed; and in consequence of such unworthy machinations, many of them mutinied, and many revolted to the enemy. But

CHAP. as they still wanted commanders, the king of Po-
 III. land and his allies dispensed the Saxon officers taken at Pirnä from their word of honour not to serve against Prussia during the present war; a stretch of authority, or rather a violation of justice, which, whatever ecclesiasties might venture to do in dark ages, had never before been hazarded by lay princes; and which marks the spirit of vindictive animosity and implacable hatred with which this memorable war was carried on.

Frederick goes to Silesia, and concert his operations with mareschal Schwerin, March 1757.

During the winter, the Prussian troops were sometimes disturbed in their quarters, particularly in Lusatia, a part of Saxony which, narrowing towards Zittau, penetrates like a wedge into Bohemia. From their garrisons in the latter country, the enemy fatigued the Prussians by frequent alarms, and though they did not succeed in surprising any of their posts, they harassed them by the anxiety of perpetual vigilance, and the hard necessity of continually sending assistance from one place to another. As the Austrians had been reinforced in those parts by draughts from their garrisons in Flanders, Frederick was obliged to recal his regiments from Pomerania, which had been originally destined to assist mareschal Lehwald against the Russians. They arrived at Gærlitz in Lusatia towards the middle of March, from

from which time the enemy began to give less disturbance. In the same month his Majesty passed into Silesia in order to have an interview with mareschal Schwerin. They met at Haynau, and there settled the plan of the ensuing campaign.

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About the end of March, the Prussians entered into their cantonments. Those who had wintered in Lusatia were assembled under the prince of Bevern at Zittau; prince Maurice commanded at Zwickau in Bohemia; mareschal Schwerin advanced towards the western frontier of Silesia; and the king with the largest division of the army occupied the heart of Saxony. Against the five powers, with whom his Majesty had to contend (for although the Saxons were already conquered, the Austrians, French, Swedes, Russians, and troops of the Circles, had now armed against him), it became necessary to contrive a scheme of operations, which might enable him, with the fourth part of their strength, to disconcert at least, and intimidate, though he could not hope to subdue, his multiplied enemies. For this purpose, he founded his project of the campaign on the plan of a battle; and having fixed his point of attack, determined to strike such a blow in one part as would stun and confound the whole. The four divisions of his forces were to march by different

Deceives the enemy, and unexpectedly invades Bohemia, April and May 1757.

CHAP.
III.

routes into the centre of Bohemia, and to rendezvous at Prague. In order to mask this design, which it was necessary to conceal from his own army as well as from the enemy, his Majesty fortified his camps in the neighbourhood of Dresden, as if he had intended to confine himself chiefly to a defensive war. The queen of Poland failed not to send immediately this glad intelligence to the Austrian generals. To lull them in security, Frederick made some feeble incursions into Bohemia with a view of avenging, as it seemed, the insults which the Austrians, during winter, had committed in Lusatia. While they were amused by these petty enterprises, beyond which they conjectured that his Majesty's operations were not likely to extend, the different divisions of the Prussian army began to move, some of them on the 20th, and others on the 29th of April. For facilitating the march, each division advanced in many separate columns; and amidst the variety of directions taken by such numerous bodies of men coming from different quarters, several of these columns were attacked by detachments of the enemy; but being sufficiently near each other to afford mutual relief, they generally prevailed in all these encounters, and pursued with little interruption their undeviating line of march.

On

On the 5th of May, they assembled in force in the neighbourhood of Prague, where general Braun lay with one division of the Austrian army, impatiently waiting the arrival of marechal Daun, who had succeeded prince Piccolomini in the command of the other. The king determined to attack general Braun before he was reinforced. Having examined his position, he found that his left rested on the mountain of Zizka, under the protection of the works of Prague; his right terminated at the village of Sterboholi; and a ravine an hundred feet deep defended his front. In order to make him quit this advantageous ground, Frederick formed his army in two lines, and marched by his left towards the town of Postchernitz. General Braun, perceiving this manœuvre, marched with part of his forces in a line parallel to the Prussians, which was precisely what his Majesty desired. Beyond the village of Bechowitz, the Prussian cavalry found a plain bounded by a lake, which afforded them sufficient room to extend their front, while the village on the one side, and the lake on the other, served to secure their flanks. They attacked the Austrian cavalry with great vigour; and in the third charge broke and totally routed them. The Prussian battalions had now formed; and before waiting the arrival of the second line, they attacked the enemy's infantry

CHAP.
III.Battle of
Prague,
May 5,
1757.

CHAP.

III.

Death of
mareschal
Schwerin.

with more courage than prudence. By a most destructive fire of artillery, they were repelled, though surely not with disgrace, since the bravest officers, and one half of the men, were left dead on the field. On this emergence, mareschal Schwerin, who, in the extremity of old age, glowed with youthful ardour, seized a standard, put himself at the head of his regiment, renewed the charge, and displayed efforts of extraordinary valour. But numbers finally prevailed, and the mareschal fell, thus brightening by his death the lustre of his glorious life.

Frederick
defeats the
Austrians,
who lose
24,000
men.

Meanwhile the second line advanced; and reinforced by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the king again charged the Austrian infantry, repelled them with great slaughter, and pursued them beyond their tents, which they had not found time to strike. The enemy's right wing was thus totally routed; and if the Prussian cavalry had not lost time in plundering the baggage, this whole body of infantry must have been killed or taken. The Prussian right had been commanded not to advance, on account of the deep ravine which defended the enemy's left. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, the rash impetuosity of general Mannstein, whose courage boiled too fiercely at sight of an enemy, produced an engagement

ment likewise on this side. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the prince of Bevern, who alike disapproved his conduct, were obliged to support his attack. After great loss of men, their obstinate valour finally proved successful; and the right wing of the Austrians being dispersed, their left had no other resource, but to shut themselves up within the walls of Prague. This battle began at nine in the morning, and the pursuit lasted till eight in the evening. The Austrians lost 24,000 men, of whom 5,000 were made prisoners. The loss of the Prussians amounted to 18,000, without reckoning general Schwerin, who (Frederick observes) was alone worth a great army, and whose death (he says) tarnished the laurels of this victory, purchased by a blood too precious.

CHAP.
III

Next day, the king summoned Prague to surrender; but general Krockow, whom he employed in this commission, was not a little surprised to find in that city, prince Charles of Lorraine, and to learn that 40,000 Austrians, who had escaped from the field of battle, were shut up within its walls. The town is surrounded with rocks and vineyards, which command it on all sides; and its fortifications, originally ill-contrived, had in many places fallen to decay. Yet its garrison was not to be attacked but by a far superior army; its bastions had casemates that were proof against bombs

Frederick
blocks up
Prague,
May
1757.

CHAP. bombs and artillery; and mareschal Daun, having
 III. already proceeded to Teutchbrodt, hastened to
 relieve the Bohemian capital.

His de-
 tachments
 alarm
 the Diet
 of Ratif-
 bon, and
 make
 many
 princes of
 the em-
 pire crave
 peace.

The king, by occupying the most convenient posts, blocked up Prague, sent general Ziethen and the prince of Bevern to retard the progress of mareschal Daun, and in order to follow the blow which he had already given the enemy, detached general Meyer to alarm the pedants of Ratisbon, and to intimidate the princes of the empire. Meyer entered the bishopric of Bamberg, extended his hostilities to Nurenberg, and spread terror to the gates of Ratisbon; the Diet of which was deserted in trepidation by those arrogant deputies, who, pretending to be the judges of kings, had long loaded his Prussian majesty with the most insolent abuse. The consternation produced by this incursion determined the elector of Bavaria and other princes to send agents to the king, to treat of their particular interests, and almost every member of the Germanic body was ready to desert the cause of the House of Austria, when a sudden revolution of fortune gave a new turn to their councils.

Daun
 comes to
 the relief
 of Prague
 with

Frederick, persisting in the blockade of Prague, had repressed the sallies of the garrison, and had reduced it to such straits for provisions, that, by

the

the unanimous testimony of deserters, the soldiers subsisted on horse-flesh. But in order to take that city, and the numerous army by which it was defended, it became necessary to repel mareschal Daun, because the troops who formed the circumvallation, could not at once defend both their front and their rear; and their circumstances admitted not of their being further straightened in their ground, because they were already obliged to forage at the distance of twenty miles from their camp. These considerations determined Frederick to put himself at the head of ten battalions and twenty squadrons, in order to reinforce the prince of Bevern. On the road to Kolin, his Majesty discovered two columns marching towards Kaurzim, which were soon found to be Bevern's detachment, retreating before the army of mareschal Daun, which was 60,000 strong. The Austrians were encamped at Wisoka; where their disposition was concealed by thick forests crowded with pandours. The king proposed to proceed to Scwoischitz, the situation of which rendered it capable of defence. But his forces had scarcely begun to march, when they beheld Daun's army already formed, their right defended by the Elbe, their left resting on Zasmuky, and their front towards Kaurzim covered by a marsh. It was necessary for the Prussians either to retreat,

in

CHAP.
III.60,000
men,
June
1757.

CHAP. in which case they must have been obliged to raise
 III. the siege of Prague, or to risk another battle, by
 which, if victorious, they would have obtained
 such an ascendancy as must probably have decided
 the fortune of the war. The princes of the em-
 pire, already fluctuating and fearful, would have
 craved a neutrality; the French vivacity would
 have been fatigued and disconcerted; the Swedes
 would have become more pacific; and the Rus-
 sians, looking forward to consequences, must have
 perceived, that Frederick, now relieved from his
 other enemies, might send a formidable army to-
 wards his northern frontier. Such were the con-
 siderations which determined his Majesty to attack
 mareschal Daun.

Movements
 preceding
 the battle
 of Kolin,
 June 18,
 1757.

The army began to march on the 18th, early in
 the morning, in two columns, towards Kolin. The
 mareschal being informed of this movement, im-
 mediately changed his front, and marching on his
 right, advanced along the hills, in a direction pa-
 rallel to that of the Prussians, whose progress he
 endeavoured to interrupt by 5000 of Nadassi's
 hussars. A body of cavalry was employed in
 driving these light troops from one place to another,
 until the king gained an eminence, of which it was
 necessary to keep possession. While his troops ad-
 vanced, his Majesty profited of the interval, to
 assemble

assemble the general officers, and to concert the plan of the engagement. From an inn which happened to be in that neighbourhood, they could distinctly perceive the order in which mareschal Daun had drawn up his men, and the whole extent of the ground on which they were to act. His front was defended by steep and rugged rocks, but his right was ill supported; and the Prussians might charge that wing with great advantage from the eminence which they already occupied. To secure success, it was necessary that this attack should be supported by the whole Prussian infantry, for which reason his Majesty meant to keep in reserve his right wing, a measure the more judicious, because the opposite division of the Austrians was posted on ground altogether inaccessible. Mr. Ziethen's forty squadrons were ordered to resist the incursions of Nadasti's hussars; the rest of the cavalry were posted behind the line.

CHAP.
III.

Frederick's
plan of
the en-
gage-
ment.

Having made this disposition, which, if maintained, must have rendered the Prussians victorious, his Majesty ordered Mr. Hulfen, with seven battalions and fourteen pieces of artillery, to begin the action. Of twenty-four battalions which remained, fifteen composed the first line, and nine the second. Mr. Ziethen attacked the hussars with great spirit, totally routed them, and pursued them

The battle
lost by the
rashness
of Mr.
Mann-
stein, June
18, 1757.

to

CHAP. to Kolin. Hulfen's battalions likewise gained
III. ground, drove the enemy from an elevated church-yard which helped to cover their right, and seized two of their batteries, of twelve cannons each. Hitherto every thing went well; but the faults which immediately followed, occasioned the loss of the battle. Prince Maurice, who commanded the infantry on the left, instead of resting that wing on the village which Mr. Hulfen had gained, allowed an interval of 1000 paces, and thereby left his flank unsupported. His Majesty perceived the error, and hastened to fill up the line; but, at that instant, discovered a brisk fire on the right. He instantly rode thither, and found that the rashness of Mr. Mannstein, who had so injudiciously entered into action at Prague, had again committed the same fault. Having observed that a village in front was occupied by pandours, he felt a strong inclination to dislodge them; in direct opposition to his orders, he assaulted the village, expelled the enemy, and pursued them to such a distance, as left his battalions exposed to the fire of the Austrian artillery. Their infantry likewise had advanced; the Prussian infantry on the right was obliged to support Mr. Mannstein; and before his Majesty arrived, the engagement had become so warm, that it was impossible for him to draw off his troops, without suffering a total defeat. By
this

this time, the left wing had also entered into action; the battle became general, and the king, as he laments most bitterly, was reduced to the necessity of being an useless spectator of irremediable errors, not having a single battalion in reserve, of which he could dispose. Mareschal Daun profited, like an able general, of the errors of the Prussians; and by an evolution of his reserve, attacked Mr. Hulsen, who had hitherto been victorious. Hulsen however still maintained his ground, and if it had been possible to supply him with four fresh battalions, he would have yet gained the battle. The Prussian infantry, in the centre and on the right, likewise advanced on the enemy; but as they suffered much by a heavy fire of musquetry and artillery, it was necessary to fill up their intervals with cavalry. A regiment of horse, having boldly attacked the enemy's line, was repelled by a battery of cannon purposely directed against it, and the regiments of Bevern and Henry were involved in the tumult of its retreat. Before this unfortunate event, the Austrians had begun on all sides to give way, when colonel d'Ayassas, without waiting orders, attacked with his dragoons the Prussian infantry at the same moment that they had been thrown into confusion by the pressure of their own horse. The king perceived this decisive movement, and after striving in vain to rally his cuirassiers,

CHAP.

III.

CHAP. III. cuirassiers, had recourse to two regiments of Truchses, who attacked the Austrian cavalry in flank, and drove them to the foot of the mountains. But before this happened, the Prussian regiments were broken and repelled, except the first battalion of guards, which had resisted four battalions of infantry and two regiments of horse that attempted to surround it. But the exertions of a single battalion could not gain a battle. Mr. Hulsen still kept his ground till towards nine in the evening, when he was obliged to retire together with the whole army.

Daun's
inactivity
allows
Frederick
time to
escape
into Sax-
ony.

In this engagement, the king lost 8000 of his best troops; and had mareschal Daun's activity been equal to his military skill, the consequences of the battle of Kolin would have proved far more fatal than the battle itself. The Prussians were unmolested in their retreat, and the king arriving next day at Prague, had leisure to make proper dispositions for raising the blockade, for collecting the remains of the vanquished at Kolin, and for retiring with little loss into Saxony.

Conse-
quences
of the
battle of
Kolin.

The consequences of his Majesty's defeat were, however, sufficiently disastrous. The army at Prague, under prince Charles of Lorraine, joined mareschal Daun at Brandeis; and by their invincible

vincible superiority in numbers, successively made themselves masters of Gabel, Tetschen, Auffig, Leutmeritz, and all the other posts which the Prussians had established in Bohemia. Their partisans likewise surprised several of his Majesty's detachments in their route to Saxony. The unfortunate Mannstein, famous for having precipitately brought on the battle of Prague, and for having occasioned, by his rashness, the defeat at Kolin, was travelling to Dresden to be cured of his wounds, under an escort of 200 men. The escort was overtaken by Mr. Laudohn: Mannstein seized his sword, sprung from his carriage, fought with the madness of despair, and died obstinately refusing quarter.

Death of
general
Mann-
stein.

The king having conducted his army into Saxony, was obliged to employ some weeks in arrangements relative to subsistence. Mareschal Daun had posted himself in a strong camp at Echartberg, and prepared with his numerous army to invade Silesia. The duke of Richelieu threatened Magdeburgh; the prince of Soubise had proceeded to Erfurd; the Swedes passed the Peene at Anclam; the Russians ravaged Prussia; and the troops of the circles were in motion to assist the French in driving his Majesty from Saxony. Amidst these multiplied dangers, the king was deserted by his

The
Prussian
domini-
ons as-
saulted on
all sides,
July and
August
1757.

only

CHAP. only ally; and the extraordinary expedition of
 III. the duke of Cumberland is too deeply connected
 with the occurrences of this campaign not to find
 a place in history.

Unfortu-
 nate ex-
 pedition
 of the
 duke of
 Cumber-
 land,
 July and
 Septem-
 ber 1757.

July.

According to the absurd project of the Hano-
 verian ministers, his royal highness determined to
 defend the eastern bank of the Weser, as if that
 river had been as impassable as the Rhine. He
 gave orders for the fortifying of Minden and Ha-
 meln, a design of which surely it was too late to
 think. The French advanced to Corbie, passed
 the Weser, proceeded to Munster; and the duke,
 fearing lest he should be attacked, assembled his
 detachments, and encamped at Hastenbeck, the
 position of which had been described to him as ex-
 cellent. The French army approached on the
 24th; the following day Mr. D'Etre'es spent in ex-
 amining the ground, and the duke of Cumberland
 in cannonading him without effect. On the 26th,
 the French, availing themselves of the conceal-
 ment of a wood, attacked the left of the allies,
 and seized one of their batteries. The hereditary
 prince of Brunswick regained the battery sword
 in hand, and proved, in his first exploit, that na-
 ture had formed him for a hero. At the same time
 a Hanoverian colonel, named Breitenbach, obey-
 ing no order but that of his own courage, assem-
 bled

bled a few battalions, penetrated into the wood, attacked the French in rear, put them to flight, and made himself master of their cannon and colours. Mr. D'Etrees, regarding the battle as lost, ordered a retreat, and had hardly time by the advice of the duke of Orleans to countermand his orders, when, to the universal astonishment of the French army, it appeared that the duke of Cumberland was himself retreating in great haste towards Hameln. The hereditary prince of Brunswick was obliged to abandon the battery, which he had recovered with so much glory; and the courageous Breitenbach was deserted. That most deserving officer remained alone master of the field of battle, and carried next day to the duke of Cumberland the trophies of his victory.

CHAP.
III.

His royal highness regretted his own precipitation in quitting a field, which the enemy had no inclination to dispute; but neither the remonstrances of the duke of Brunswick, nor the representations of his generals, could persuade him to interrupt his flight. He hastened to Nienbourgh, from thence to Verden, and then followed the road to Staden through Rotenbourg; abandoning, by this injudicious movement, the whole country to the French; from whom, after the affair of Hastenbach, he determined to keep at a due distance.

Convention of
Closter-
Seven,
8th Sep-
tember
1757;

But

CHAP. But to this resolution the duke of Richelieu, who
 III. succeeded Mr. D'Etrees, was unwilling to consent.
 The English duke was shut up in an angle, and compelled to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven. By this treaty, the troops of Hesse, Brunswick, and Gotha, were to return to their respective countries; the Hanoverians were to remain at Staden in a district assigned them: no mention was made of their electorate, which remained in possession of the French: and the duke of Cumberland, without waiting to ratify the treaty, hastened to England.

which completes the distress of the Prussians. This opprobrious convention completed the distress of the Prussians. His Majesty, weak as his army already was, felt the necessity of detaching prince Ferdinand of Brunswick to defend Magdebourg. He likewise detached prince Maurice to Leipzig, to overawe 15,000 Austrians at Bautzen, and to be in readiness, by that central situation, to co-operate, as circumstances required, either with prince Ferdinand, or with himself. Mareschal Daun studiously declined an engagement, and it was impossible to force his post.

Frederick's bold design. Frederick, whose affairs could only be retrieved by some splendid exploit, and who, like Cæsar, was always most active and most formidable after a defeat,

a defeat, turned his views towards the French army at Erfurd, commanded by the prince of Soubise. With this design, he marched from Dresden to Roetha, and from thence to Pegau; Mr. Seidlitz with his dragoons every where clearing the road of the enemy's hussars, of whom many were made prisoners, At the head of 2000 horse and two battalions of grenadiers, the king advanced to Erfurd, and was much surprised to behold the prince of Soubise retiring towards Gotha. Erfurd was summoned to surrender; and his Majesty, being joined by the rest of his forces, which in all amounted only to eight battalions and twenty-seven squadrons, cantoned them in the neighbouring villages, instead of inclosing them in one camp, which would have betrayed the smallness of their numbers. At changing their quarters, the regiments changed their names, which multiplied them without end, in the imagination of the French spies. At the head of twenty squadrons, the king advanced to Gotha, dislodged the Imperial Hussars, and pursued them towards Eisenach, where the prince of Soubise having fixed his camp, had been joined by the prince of Hildbourghausen, commander in chief of the troops of the Circles.

CHAP.
III.Deceives
the
French
and Aus-
trians.

The king returned to Erfurd, and left Mr. Seidlitz with the cavalry at Gotha, where the French

Illustrious
exploit of
Mr. Seid-
litz.

P

and

CHAP.

III.

and Austrians had behaved with great indecency to the ducal family, one of the most ancient in the empire. A few days after the king's departure, Mr. Seidlitz was attacked by a force far superior to his own. The prince of Hildbourghausen, ambitious to signalize his entrance on command, advised the prince of Soubise to assist him in recovering Gotha. For this purpose they advanced towards the city, with the whole grenadiers, the Austrian cavairy, the French light troops, and Laudohn's pandours. Mr. Seidlitz was seasonably apprised of their design. On such an emergency, an ordinary general would have been contented to retire before the enemy, and to have sacrificed a part of his rear to the safety of his detachment. But Mr. Seidlitz having occupied a post in the neighbourhood of Gotha, placed, at half a mile's distance, behind his line, Czettriz's dragoons, with orders to make a show by forming in one rank. This skilful manœuvre deceived and intimidated the enemy. They believed that the whole Prussian army, which they conjectured to be very numerous, was marching to attack them. By the fluctuation of their movements, Mr. Seidlitz perceived that his stratagem had succeeded. He assaulted them with repeated shocks; drove them to a narrow defile, and dispatched his hussars to Gotha, who scarcely allowed the princes of Darmstadt

Darmstadt and Soubise time to escape; proving CHAP.
by this illustrious exploit, that from occasions, on III.
which mediocrity would be contented with palli-
ating loss, genius may derive profit and gain glory.

Meanwhile, Frederick was informed, that ge-
neral Haddick traversed Lusatia in order to pene-
trate into Brandenburg; that general was to be
joined by the Austrians at Bautzen; and as prince
Maurice was unable to resist this combined army,
the king purposed to bring him a reinforcement.
He therefore left Erfurd, passed the Elbe at Tor-
gau, and marched towards Annaberg, where he
learned that the enemy had retired from Branden-
burgh, after demanding from Berlin a contribution
of 200,000 crowns. The departure of his Ma-
jesty from Erfurd encouraged Mr. Soubise to pass
the Saale, and advance towards Leipzig. Mare-
chal Keith, who commanded in that city, inform-
ed the king of the enemy's movement, and craved
immediate assistance. With his small army, Fre-
derick hastened to Leipzig, where he was soon af-
terwards joined by prince Maurice and prince Fer-
dinand. The French and troops of the Circles
had by this time arrived in the neighbourhood of
Rosbach, and posted themselves on an eminence
defended in front by a deep ravine, their right
covered by a wood, and their left by a lake, which

Movements
preceding
the battle
of Ros-
bach in
Thurin-
gia.

CHAP.
III.

Insulting
levity of
the
French.

it was impossible to turn. The Prussians being too feeble to assault so formidable a post, the king led them off towards Braunsdorf; the French cannonading them without effect, yet sounding their trumpets, playing their fifes, beating their drums, and making as clamorous demonstrations of joy as if they had obtained an important victory.

With a
handful
of men,
Frederick
defeats a
great ar-
my at
Rosbach,
4th No-
vember
1757.

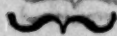
This behaviour appeared very petulant to men who had never feared an enemy; and French vivacity was opposed by German phlegm. After various movements of both armies, the king contrived to cover his troops by a marsh, which beginning at Braunsdorf extends to the distance of 2000 steps from Rosbach. The enemy meanwhile approached, moving in a direction parallel to the Prussians, who carefully kept possession of an eminence on which they established a battery, whose effects proved decisive in the action. Mr. Seidlitz, who with his cavalry led the van, had orders to escape secretly by the hollows, in which the country abounded, and to turn the French cavalry in order to charge the head of their columns before they had time to form the line. The king could only leave with prince Ferdinand, who that day commanded on the right, the old horse guards, who were formed, merely for show, in one rank; a manœuvre the more judicious, as part of
the

the marsh of Braunsdorf covered that wing. Mr. Seidlitz executing his orders with alacrity, attacked the Austrian horse, which being abandoned by the French, were almost intirely destroyed. The infantry of the two armies were still on their march, and the heads of their columns distant from each other about 500 paces. The king wished to have reached the village of Reichardswerben, but as he had still 600 steps to march, and expected that the battle would be brought on every instant, he detached marechal Keith thither, and advanced in person within 200 steps of the enemy's front, which he found to be composed of battalions arranged alternately in column and in line. The prince of Soubise's right flank was quite unsupported; and as the king had not cavalry to turn it, he traversed his left wing, as Cæsar had done at Pharsalia, with two battalions forming a crotchet or hook at its extremity. The French advancing to the attack, these battalions instantly wheeled half a circle to the right, which necessarily carried them on the enemy's flank. After this important movement, and at most three discharges from the regiment of Brunswick, the enemy's infantry were seen precipitating themselves towards the left, and their columns compressing between them the extended battalions with which they were intermixed. This massy line became
con-

CHAP.
III.

CHAP.

III.



continually closer, more heavy, and more confused; and in proportion as it hastened towards the left, it was the more completely involved in the fire of the Prussian front. By their judicious disposition, and the superior effect of the Prussian cannon, a handful of men overcame a great army. Prince Ferdinand had never quitted the marsh of Braunfsdorf; and during the action his men had never taken their firelocks from their shoulders. Their countenance only, and some vollies of cannon, sufficed to disperse their adversaries. Not more than seven Prussian battalions were engaged in this action, which, having begun at six o'clock in the evening, lasted an hour and a half, and cost the French 10,000 men. In the pursuit, which was directed chiefly towards Eckartsberg, the king collected 7000 prisoners; many of whom were brought him by his own detachments, and many by the Thuringian peasants, incensed at the sacrilegious insults and indecent grossness with which the French had treated their reformed religion and Lutheran churches.

Marches
in quest
of new
dangers
to Silesia,
Novem-
ber 1757.

The remote consequences of this engagement were important; but the only immediate benefit which the king derived from dispersing the army in Thuringia, was that of being at leisure to march in quest of new dangers in Silesia. The prince

of

of Bevern, with fifty battalions and one hundred squadrons, had been appointed to command in that province, accompanied by Mr. Winterfeld, in whose zeal and abilities the king placed unlimited confidence. But that accomplished general and able negotiator was slain in rashly assaulting the obscure village of Holzberg; and from that moment the operations of the prince of Bevern were equally imprudent and unfortunate. Often defeated in the field, and driven from post to post before the army of prince Charles and marefchal Daun, the Prussians had lost almost all the towns in Silesia, together with the important fortrefs of Schweidnitz, and at length Breslaw the capital; places which the king, in the midst of his greatest misfortunes, had watched over with the utmost solicitude. The prince of Bevern himself had been made prisoner by the pandours; and the Silesian troops, now commanded by Mr. Kyau, were so much dejected by repeated defeats, that they were ready to lay down their arms. The king received news of these overwhelming disasters, which, instead of lamenting, he hastened to remedy, marching in twelve days near 200 miles from Leipzig to the Oder at Lignitz, which the Austrians had fortified, he turned off to Parchwitz, and surprised a detachment of the enemy, who were defeated with the loss of 300 prisoners.

where the incapacity of the prince of Bevern had produced great misfortunes.

Mr.

CHAP. Mr. Kyau's army, which had retired northwards
 III. to Glogau, joined his Majesty's battalions the 2d
 of December at Parchwitz on the Oder.

Frederick
 restores
 the spirits
 of the
 army in
 that pro-
 vince.

Before any enterprize could be prudently un-
 dertaken with these combined forces, it was neces-
 sary to restore the courage of the Silesian army.
 His Majesty entertained the officers, recalled to
 their remembrance their most honourable ex-
 ploits, and disdained not the assistance of wine to
 refresh their decayed spirits. He talked familiarly
 to the foldiers, distributed provisions gratis, and
 exhausted every resource for reviving in his troops
 that confidence in themselves, without which the
 hope of victory is vain. In two days their coun-
 tenances brightened up; and, animated by the
 exhortations of their companions who had con-
 quered at Rosbach, they longed for an opportu-
 nity to redeem their lost renown.

Operati-
 ons prepa-
 ratory to
 the battle
 of Leu-
 then, De-
 cember
 1757.

This opportunity, it was the king's duty to
 provide. He led them southward to Neumarkt,
 where the enemy was forming magazines, and
 where mareschal Daun was soon expected with his
 whole army. The eminence beyond Neumarkt
 afforded a post that might prove highly advan-
 tageous to either party; but to attain this advan-
 tage was not easy for the Prussians, whose cannon

and

and infantry could not come up till the evening. His Majesty, however, determining not to allow marshal Daun to encamp quietly before his face, made a virtue of necessity, and dismounted his hussars, who breaking open the gates of Neu-markt, were followed by some regiments of cavalry, who entered the town at full gallop. Eight hundred Cravates were taken, and the Prussians occupied the ground which the enemy's engineers had already marked out for their encampment. The king's infantry had scarcely arrived, when he learned that marshal Daun lay encamped beyond Lissa, with his right covered by the village of Nypern, his left by the town of Galau, and the little river of Schweidnitz in his rear. His Majesty rejoiced that the enemy thus furnished him with an opportunity of coming to an engagement, which he had determined on the first occasion to embrace.

On the 5th, the army marched at day-break, preceded by sixty squadrons and ten battalions, which Frederick commanded in person. As they approached the village of Born, they discovered a long line of cavalry, which was found to consist of Saxon dragoons and Imperial hussars. To play a safe game, his Majesty sent ten battalions into a wood, which covered the left flank of these hostile

CHAP.
VIIIFrederick
rejoiced
the
of the
many in
that pro-
vince.Frederick's
disposition
and man-
oeuvres,
December 5,
1757.

CHAP.

III.

file squadrons, and having advanced speedily to their rencounter, attacked them with such vivacity that they were instantly dissipated. They fled in scattered disorder towards the main body of their army, with the loss of five officers and 800 men. These prisoners were immediately conducted to Newmarkt, along the Prussian columns, in order to animate the hopes of the soldiers by this example of success. His Majesty having recalled his hussars, whose impetuosity it was difficult to restrain, discerned the greater part of Daun's army so distinctly from the village of Frobelvitz, that he could have counted it man by man; the left, which he knew extended to Nypern, was concealed indeed by the wood of Lissa; but in the right and centre, nothing escaped his view. Upon the first inspection of these troops, and the ground which they occupied, Frederick perceived the necessity of directing his principal attack against the left wing, which occupied a rising ground, commanding the whole plain. By gaining this position in the beginning of the action, his Majesty might expect to maintain his superiority through the succeeding scenes of the battle; whereas, by repelling any other part of the enemy's line, he would still be obliged to make himself master of that rising ground, before the battle could be decided. Choosing therefore to perform

perform first what, though difficult in itself, would render the rest easy; he carefully concealed the movements of his battalions on the right behind a cloud of hussars, whom he headed in person; while his orders directed the motions of the infantry, whose assault would prove the more terrible, because totally unforeseen.

The Prussian army did not exceed 33,000, and the Austrians amounted to 60,000. The disposition and manœuvres of the king's troops coincided exactly with those of the Thebans commanded by Epaminondas, in the battle of Leuctra. Their right, conducted by Mr. Wedel, prepared to turn and involve the enemy's left, while the rest of the line, formed in an oblique order, gradually diverged in proportion as it extended; so that when the army was in march, the right extremity approached nearer to the enemy than the left, by 1000 paces. Mr. Daun, like the unfortunate Cleombrotus at Leuctra, mistook the Prussian evolutions for a retreat, and said to those around him; "The enemy are flying, let them go." He was soon undeceived, when Mr. Wedel attacked and repelled his left, and planted on the eminence which it had occupied, a battery of cannon recently transported from the walls of Glogau. This important operation decided the battle

which gain the decisive battle of Leuthen, December 5, 1757.

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battle of Leuthen, in which the Austrians lost 307 officers, 21,000 soldiers, 134 pieces of cannon, and 59 pair of colours. Messrs. Ziethen and Fouquet pursued the vanquished towards Breslaw, and made 2500 prisoners. Many of them took refuge in that place, and many more fled towards Bohemia.

Frederick
recovers
Breslaw,
December
6, 1757.

The king next day besieged Breslaw with 14,000 men; and on the 10th made prisoners of war an army of 17,635 soldiers, 686 officers, and 13 generals. In the battle of Leuthen, the Prussians lost only 2660 men, because, after the first attack, their position alone ensured an easy and bloodless victory.

His dex-
terous ne-
gotiations
remove
100,000
Russians
from
Prussia,
June and
Septem-
ber 1755.

Amidst the multiplied dangers which threatened him on all sides during this campaign, Frederick was obliged to have recourse to every expedient of war and policy; to fight and to negotiate by turns; sometimes to soothe and sometimes to intimidate. In the month of June, mareschal Apraxin invaded Prussia with 100,000 Russians, defeated mareschal Lehwald, to whom his Majesty had committed the defence of that kingdom; took Memel, and threatened Kænigsberg. The distance of six hundred miles rendered it impossible to reinforce the northern army, and the king was obliged

CHAP.
III.

obliged to devise some other means by which he might protect his valuable provinces on the Baltic. For this purpose he secretly entertained a correspondence with the great duke of Russia, who was not the less inclined to become his Majesty's friend, that the empress Elizabeth was his declared enemy. In order to ingratiate himself with this prince, whose accession to the throne he perceived to be at no great distance, the chancellor Bestuchew changed his system with regard to Prussian affairs, and sent such orders to mareschal Apraxin, that instead of pushing his advantages in Prussia, he retired towards the frontiers of Poland. Leh-September.
wald, who had lost 1400 men in the battle of Jagernsdorf, followed him with 24,000, to Tilsit, where the Russians passed the Niemen, and thenceforth disappeared.

The influence which his Majesty acquired over the grand duke of Russia, having enabled him to dispel the storm that ravaged his northern frontier, he ordered mareschal Lewwald to march into Pomerania. In that province, the Swedes had taken Anclam, Demmin, and Peenamunde; and in their further progress had not any opposition to dread but that of fourteen battalions, composed chiefly of Pomeranian militia, who had voluntarily taken arms in defence of their king and country.

Mareschal
Lewwald
drives the
Swedes
from Po-
merania,
December
1757.

CHAP. try. Lehwald, punctually observing his orders,
 III. marched during the severity of the season, and in
 the extremity of old age, 500 miles in quest
 of the enemy. He speedily dislodged the Swedes
 from Anclam and Demmin, and pushed them un-
 der the walls of Stralsund, where, not finding
 themselves secure, they sailed for refuge to the
 isle of Rugen. The severe cold which ensued,
 froze the arm of the sea between that island and
 Pomerania. Lehwald's great age probably hin-
 dered him from availing himself of this accident,
 to take or destroy the whole Swedish army, which
 would have thenceforth delivered his Majesty from
 an enemy not dangerous indeed, but troublesome.
 The old marshal however had made 3000 pri-
 soners; and a detachment which he sent to be-
 siege the fort of Peenamunde took that place in
 the ensuing spring.

Frederick
 having
 taken
 Lignitz,
 and block-
 ed up
 Schweid-
 nitz, puts
 his troops
 into win-
 ter quar-
 ters, Ja-
 nuary 6,
 1758.

The campaign which we have described, lasted
 long, and extended wide; its revolutions were
 various, and its issue improbable. All, however,
 was not yet done; and one expedition remain-
 ed, useful in itself, and preparatory to future suc-
 cess. To retrieve as completely as possible his
 Majesty's affairs in Silesia, it was necessary to re-
 take Lignitz, where the enemy had raised works
 and formed inundations. The cannon arrived, and
 the

the siege was undertaken at a season when the spades and picks could hardly break the ground. But general Balow, whom mareschal Daun had appointed governor, preferred the safety of his garrison to the glory of an obstinate defence. By capitulation, Balow and his troops were allowed a safe conduct to Bohemia. That Lignitz might never again serve as a place of arms to the Austrians, its sluices were drained, and its works raised. The whole cavalry of the army then formed the blockade of Schweidnitz, the siege of which was reserved for the ensuing campaign; and the infantry entered into winter quarters the 6th of January; the king fixing his residence at Breslaw, in order to see every thing with his own eyes, and to recruit the strength and spirits of his troops, who had cheerfully undergone fatigues unexampled in modern history, and raised the glory of their king and country above the reach of envy and the power of fortune.

CHAP.
III.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Frederick's victories dispose his enemies to peace. France rekindles the flame of discord. Negotiations with the Porte. Prince Ferdinand's campaign. Frederick takes Schweidnitz. Besieges Olmutz. Barbarous ravages of the Russians and Cossacks. Frederick defeats them in the battle of Zorndorf. Surprised at Hochkirchen. Obliges the Austrians to raise the siege of Neisse, and Daun to retire from Dresden. His successes against the Swedes and Russians. Domestic afflictions. Proceedings of the Pope and other ecclesiastical princes against Frederick. Battles of Minden and Gotfeld on the same day. Revolution in the court of France. Battle of Kunersdorf. Frederick's winter campaign. Negotiations with Sardinia, Russia, France, and Denmark. Campaign of 1760. Frederick's stratagems. Marches to Silesia between two Austrian armies. Battle of Lignitz. The Russians invade Brandenburg. Werner's dragoons repel the Swedish fleet. Enormities committed by the Austrians and Russians. They retire at Frederick's approach. Battle of Torgau.

CHAP.
IV.

Frederick's
victories

THE campaign of 1757 was distinguished by a rapid succession of improbable events, which kept the powers of Europe in agitation or suspense; and time for recollection was required before

fore they could embrace any decisive resolution. CHAP.

IV.

The pride of wounded ambition had armed the House of Austria; and that passion, which in flames by indulgence, had cooled by opposition. A train of unexpected misfortunes diminished the haughtiness, and bent the obstinacy, of the Imperial court; and as long as the impression of calamity remained strong and fresh, Maria Theresa was not unwilling to accommodate her differences with the king in an amicable manner. The style of the chancery of Vienna became less arrogant; the language of the pedants of Ratisbon grew less abusive. At the desire of the Empress Queen, Count Kaunitz apprised his Majesty of an imaginary conspiracy formed against his life by two Neapolitans, and a citizen of Milan. The king thanked him and his mistress for their friendly communication, remarking however, that, as there were two modes of assassination, one by the poignard and the other by calumny, he set the first at defiance, but sincerely deprecated the second.

This transaction prevented not the renewal of the same scurrilous abuse which had been so long heaped on Frederick, as soon as the intrigues of the French ministry, who amidst the misfortunes of their war with England, trembled at the intended

humble
the pride,
and bend
the obsti-
nacy of
the court
of Vien-
na, Janua-
ry 1758;

but
France
rekindles
of the flame
of discord.

Q

tended

CHAP.
IV.

tended defection of their German allies, had re-kindled the animosity and revived the hopes of the Empress Queen. The disgrace incurred in the affair of Rosbach, and indignation that the confederacy of the *two great powers* should be defeated in all its enterprizes by the petty prince, confirmed the bonds of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Versailles. By their intrigues, the Empress of Russia was prevailed on to disgrace the chancellor Bestuchew for the services which he had rendered Prussia; the French faction reigned despotically in the senate of Stockholm; and such was the effect of threats, promises, and profusion, in the courts of the North, that the brilliant success of the Prussians in the preceding campaign, instead of abating the ardour of their enemies, tended only to embitter their animosity, to accelerate their preparations, and to render both more formidable than ever.

Frederick
prepares
for the
campaign
1758.

During the winter, Frederick endeavoured to repair the effects of seven pitched battles, and the more destructive ravages of contagious maladies. His troops had been seized with an epidemic fever, accompanied by symptoms of the plague. From the first day, the patient was delirious; his neck and arm-pits were covered with carbuncles; and the progress of his distemper was so rapid, that

that in three days it hurried him to his grave. CHAP.
 After trying other remedies in vain, the physicians IV.
 had recourse to tartar emetic, which operated so
 successfully, that out of an hundred persons who
 used it, not more than three died. Notwithstanding
 the loss of men, both in the hospitals and in
 the field, the Prussian regiments had recovered
 their full complement before the commencement
 of the spring; but the recruits, consisting of raw
 peasants, were to be exercised and disciplined, and
 could not therefore perform any useful service in
 the beginning of the campaign.

His Majesty, meanwhile, endeavoured to nego- His un-
 tiate an alliance at the Porte; but Mr. Rexin, his successful
 ambassador there, could not even obtain the hono- negotia-
 neur of an audience of the successor of the Sultan tion with
 Osman; and in the various forms which this ne- the Porte.
 gotiation assumed, it will be easy to remark, how
 little the Turks are capable of following or un-
 derstanding the maxims of sound policy; a defect
 proceeding from their gross ignorance of the
 affairs of Europe, their corruption and venality,
 and the absurd principle of their government,
 which subjects the alternatives of peace and war
 to the decision of the musti or high priest, with-
 out whose fetfa or mandate it is impossible to put
 in motion the troops of the East.

CHAP.
IV.

His sub-
sidiary
treaty
with
England
signed at
London,
April 12,
1758.

In England, his Majesty's negotiations were more successful. In the autumn of 1757, an important change had been effected in the British ministry. Mr. Fox, who had been raised to the first office of power, by the intrigues of the duke of Cumberland, resigned; and his place was bestowed by George II. on Mr. Pitt, whose lofty genius and indefatigable industry justly entitled him to that exalted station. The duke's convention at Closterseven, that great statesman considered as the reproach of England; and the first exertions of his ministry tended to abolish even the remembrance of a transaction so infamous. He persuaded the British monarchy to request the assistance of prince Ferdinand from the king of Prussia, and to set that accomplished general at the head of the allied army. By the advice of Mr. Pitt, George II. likewise renewed his treaties with Frederick, and with several other princes of Germany; stipulating to pay to Prussia an annual subsidy of 4,000,000 of crowns; a condition repugnant indeed to Frederick's maxims, but which his present exigencies rendered indispensable; and in which (except a reinforcement of 12,000 English that joined the allies on the 14th August 1758), consisted the only advantage which he could derive from Great Britain, that kingdom absolutely refusing to send a fleet to the Baltic.

The

The campaign of 1758 was opened by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who having penetrated by secret roads to Staden, collected a body of 30,000 men, whom the French had left in that neighbourhood, and had unaccountably neglected to disarm. His task was not easy, to drive 80,000 Frenchmen from Lower Saxony and Westphalia, with 30,000 Hanoverians, who three months before had been prepared to lay down their arms and to sign a disgraceful treaty. The plan of his operations, which he concerted with Frederick, was to hinder the French from destroying the capitals of Brunswick and Hanover, and to compel them to evacuate those provinces through the terror of being interrupted in their communication with the Rhine. For these purposes, he sent two detachments to the Weser, one of which gained possession of Verden, and the other marched on both sides the river towards Hoya, under the command of his nephew the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who made himself master of that important post by his skill and valour.

CHAP.
IV.

Plan of
prince
Ferdinand's
campaign
in March
1758.

Meanwhile prince Ferdinand passed the Aller; and prince Henry of Prussia, who had remained in Saxony to be cured of a wound received in the battle of Rosbach, advanced towards Brunswick, with a detachment which the king had ordered

His skilful
marches
and man-
œuvres
disconcert
the
French
generals.

CHAP.

IV.

April

1758.

May.

June.

dered to co-operate with the allies. These various and well-adjusted movements totally disconcerted the French generals. Mr. de St. Germain retired from Bremen into Westphalia, and Mr. Clermont, who had succeeded the duke of Richelieu, evacuated Brunswick, Wolfenbottel and Hanover. Prince Ferdinand marched straight to Minden, and being there joined by his detachments, besieged and took that place in sight of the enemy. The allies proceeded to Bielefeld, and count Clermont, astonished at finding himself without any secure footing in Germany, evacuated Hamm and Munster, repassed the Rhine at Wesel, and cantoned his army on the western bank of that river. After this successful expedition of marches and manœuvres, in which prince Ferdinand had already taken 11,000 prisoners, he allowed his fatigued troops a short repose in the neighbourhood of Munster, but soon passed the Rhine near Emmerith, surprised a French detachment in its quarters at Cleves, and advanced to attack count Clermont encamped at Crefeld. By turning the left flank of the French, while his nephew harassed their rear, and Mr. Wangenheim threatened their front, prince Ferdinand gained a decisive victory. The enemy retired to Nuys, Weringer, and at length to Cologne; thus leaving the conqueror at full liberty to avail himself of his success, by detaching

taching the hereditary prince to take Ruremonde, and carry terror to the gates of Brussels, while Mr. Wangenheim besieged Dusseldorp, and, together with that town, seized the French magazines which it contained.

CHAP.
IV.

Mr. de Clermont's operations were little calculated to satisfy his employers. He was succeeded by Mr. de Contades, who endeavoured to restore the confidence of the French troops by advancing to occupy the post of Brugen, at the same time that Mr. Chevert, who commanded a numerous garrison at Wesel, made a sally from that place, to surprise Mr. Imhof, who guarded the bridge at Emmerith. But Imhof, apprised of his design, placed himself in ambush with his whole force in the road which Chevert had to pass, put him to the rout, and took many of his men prisoners. These multiplied disasters would have deterred the French from repassing the Rhine, and have led to the taking of Wesel before the end of the campaign, had not the prince of Soubise, with the July. inglorious remains of the battle of Rosbach, and a reinforcement of 15,000 Wirtenbergers, invaded Hesse and Lower Saxony. Having defeated the prince of Ysenbourg at Sangerhausen, whom prince Ferdinand had left to defend those countries with 7000 men, Soubise made himself master

And drive them with great loss from Lower Saxony and Westphalia.

CHAP. ter of Munden, Gottingen, and Cassel. This
IV. obliged prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine.

October.

—By his judicious and well-combined movements, he defended the ground which he had already gained, against the army of Mr. Con-
tades, while his detachments, which acted on the
offensive, completely re-established the affairs of
their allies in Lower Saxony and Heflia. To-
wards the end of the campaign, the French were
masters of Marbourgh alone. The hereditary
prince was sent to dislodge them, and accomplish-
ed his design in a few days. The army of Mr.
de Soubise then retreated towards Wesel, and en-
tered into winter quarters on the western bank of
the Rhine; leaving the allies in quiet possession
of Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

November
2, 1758.

Frederick
takes
Schweid-
nitz,
April 15,
1758.

During prince Ferdinand's illustrious campaign
in the western provinces, his Prussian Majesty had
been employed in the east against the Austrians,
endeavouring to avail himself to the utmost of his
victory at Leuthen. The Prussians had already
occupied Troppau and Jagerndorf; and the Auf-
trians were chased from every part of Silesia except
the important fortress of Schweidnitz, which was
closely blocked up. With the return of spring,
the blockade was converted into a siege; and the
trenches being opened the 2d of April, the most
important

important works were gained on the 15th by as-
 fault; on which day count Thierhaimb surren-
 dered himself and his garrison prisoners of war.
 They consisted of 5000 men, who were dispersed
 among the different fortresses of Silesia and Bran-
 denburgh.

CHAP.
IV.

The king meanwhile had commanded an army
 of observation, which extended from Landshut to
 Friedland, to watch the motions of count Daun,
 who still maintained his quarters between Kænigf-
 graetz and Jaromirs. His Majesty's design was
 to invade Moravia, and to make himself master of
 Olmutz, not indeed with a view to keep that place,
 but to give employment to the Austrians on that
 distant frontier, in order to gain time for opposing
 the Russians, who desolated Prussia. His detach-
 ments under Messrs. Ziethen and Fouquet so suc-
 cessfully masked his designs, that the Prussian
 army, divided into two columns, respectively com-
 manded by the king and mareschal Keith, advanced
 without encountering any opposition into the
 plain of Olmutz. The trenches were opened on
 the 27th of May, and such dispositions were made
 as seemed most proper for taking the place and for
 keeping the enemy at a distance.

Invades
Moravia
and lays
siege to
Olmütz,
May
1758.

The enterprize however was unsuccessful, be-
 cause, by opening the trenches too remote from
 the

That en-
terprize
unsuccess-
the

CHAP. the town, much time and ammunition were use-
 IV. lessly spent; and count Daun, who now encamp-
 ful, and ed between Proßnitz and Wischau, thus gained
 why. an opportunity of intercepting a great convoy from
 Silesia, the loss of which rendered it necessary to
 June. raise the siege. The enemy having prepared to
 harass the march of the Prussians into Upper Silesia,
 the king retreated towards Bohemia, preparing for
 greater designs; and mareschal Keith, by his skill
 July. and vigilance, conducted successfully to Kænigf-
 graetz 1500 sick and wounded, as well as the whole
 stores and artillery belonging to the royal army.

Barbarous
 ravages
 commit-
 ted by the
 Russians
 and Cos-
 sacks in
 Branden-
 burgh,
 July
 1758.

Had the Austrians been his only enemies in this
 memorable war, Frederick might have remained
 in Bohemia until the season for entering into win-
 ter quarters; but humanity obliged him to oppose
 the ravages of the Russians and Cossacks in Bran-
 denburgh, the former of whom under Mr. Fermor
 had bombarded Kustrin, and laid that city in ashes;
 and the latter, accompanying the armies under
 Czernichef and Romanzow, covered the villages
 with desolation. In resisting these barbarities, the
 king wished to employ only three weeks, lest,
 during his absence, Daun might turn his arms to-
 wards Silesia or Saxony, to one or other of which
 provinces it would be requisite to conduct a season-
 able reinforcement. The great body of the
 army,

army, his majesty left under the command of mare-
 schal Keith at Landshut, and hastened in person to
 Frankfort on the Oder, to join count Dohna, whose
 feeble detachment had been unable to resist the
 enemy. By his rapid and skilful manœuvres, he
 compelled the Russians to raise the siege of Kus-
 trin, and seizing the intermediate position of Zorn-
 dorf, completely interrupted the communication
 between the armies of Fermor and Romanzow.
 The former, who had been joined by Czernichéf,
 was posted between the villages of Quartschen and
 Zicker, and his troops were encamped in the
 form of a square, according to the venerable prac-
 tice which had been followed by marechal Munich
 in his war against the Turks in Little Tartary.
 The time pressed; it was necessary to come to a
 decision; and the singular disposition of the ene-
 my afforded good hope of success. The Cossacks
 had set fire to Zorndorf, a perplexing circum-
 stance, as the artillery was to be transported across
 that place. This difficulty however was overcome
 by the persevering exertions of the Prussians.

CHAP.
IV.

Frederick
marches
to oppose
them.

August.

The battle began at nine in the forenoon, and
 continued till near nine in the evening, about
 which time the enemy retreated into the wood of
 Tamsel. They lost 103 cannons, 27 standards,
 82 officers, 2000 prisoners; and as the artillery
 played with sure effect against their thick mass,
 they

Defeats
them in
the battle
of Zorn-
dorf, Au-
gust 25,
1758.

CHAP.

IV.

they left at least 15,000 men dead on the field. The loss on the Prussian side amounted to 1200 men, and 60 officers killed or wounded. The event of this battle obliged Romanzow to quit the neighbourhood of Stargard, in order to join Fermor. They retired together to Landsberg, the king having pursued them to Blumsberg, where count Dohna was left to oppose an enemy diminished in strength and dejected by defeat.

Frederick
marches
to defend
his brother in
Lusatia,
October
1758.

The urgency of his affairs allowed not Frederick to push his advantages against the Russians, but obliged him to hasten from the Oder to the Elbe, in order to assist his brother prince Henry, who was in danger of being overwhelmed by the power of numbers in Saxony. To the troops of the Circles commanded by the prince of Deux-ponts, and the Austrians by general Haddick, mareschal Daun had already joined his great army, after detaching 20,000 men under general Harfch to form the siege of Neisse. The king left Mr. Fouquet to guard the gorges of Bohemia, and being joined by mareschal Keith marched with great expedition to the defence of his brother. After various skilful movements, by which the Prussians cut off several Austrian detachments, both armies encamped in Lusatia, mareschal Daun on the heights between Kerlitz and Stremberg, his reserve, under the prince of Durlach, extending

to Debertschutz; and the king, near the village of Hochkirchen, his head quarters at Radewitz. CHAP IV.

His Majesty's design was to attack the prince of Durlach, which he could not safely attempt till the 15th, when he expected his convoy of provisions.

But mareschal Daun did not allow him time to execute his project. Mr. Laudohn had taken possession of a wood at a mile's distance from the village of Hochkirchen, towards which Daun had secretly prepared roads for the march of four columns. In the night of the 13th, he attacked the king's army in four different points, set fire to the village of Hochkirchen, which was situate on an eminence, and seized the great battery erected there, which he pointed with considerable effect against the Prussian camp. The soldiers had only time to seize their arms, not to strike their tents. The darkness was complete, but occasionally brightened by the flames of the burning village. Though thus surprised, the Prussians defended themselves vigorously against superior numbers. The king endeavoured to turn the village of Hochkirchen, and having encountered a body of Austrians, made 300 prisoners. Mareschal Keith and prince Maurice of Anhalt attempted to recover the battery of which the enemy had made themselves masters.

But

The Prussians surprised at Hochkirchen in Lusatia by mareschal Daun, October 13, 14.

CHAP. But having to pass a narrow lane, in which hardly
 IV. seven men could march abreast, they were attack-
 ed and repelled at the outlet by a front far more
 extensive than their own. Marechal Keith was
 slain, prince Maurice was wounded dangerously,
 and general Geist mortally. In another scene of
 this nocturnal engagement, prince Francis of
 Brunswick had fallen. The king as well as all
 his generals had received wounds or contusions.
 To pass the village was impossible, the conflagra-
 tion was too violent, and the battle irrecoverably
 lost. Mr. Retzow, who had thrice repelled the
 prince of Durlach, was ordered to join his Majesty,
 in order to cover the retreat, which being effected
 without loss, the army encamped at Bautzen. In
 the action the Prussians lost 3000 men, but made
 700 of the enemy prisoners. Marechal Daun re-
 turned to his former camp, and kept his troops
 as closely entrenched as if he had not gained a
 victory.

Frederick Before the battle of Hochkirchen, his Majesty
 marches had been obliged to detach Mr. Wedel with six
 to Silesia, battalions and a proportional body of cavalry to
 and ob- resist the Swedes in Pomerania. His misfortunes
 lises the Austrians in that battle did not hinder him from sending
 to raise the siege of Neisse, another detachment to oblige the Russians to raise
 of Neisse, the siege of Colberg, and to march in person to
 Novem- Silesia
 ber.

Silesia to repel Mr. Harsch from the walls of Neisse. CHAP. IV.
 That general, though strongly reinforced by count Daun, raised the siege on the first news of his Majesty's approach, and in his retreat was attacked by a sally from the town, in which he lost 800 men. He abandoned likewise his magazines, and retired with great expedition by Ziegenhals to Jagerndorf.

This expedition was no sooner ended than his Majesty returned to Saxony, and obliged count Daun to retire from Dresden and Pirna, while his detachments frightened the troops of the Circles from Torgau and Leipzig, which places they had begun to invest. The Russians meanwhile were baffled in their attempt to take Colberg, by the skill and perseverance of its governor Mr. Heyden, and the activity of Mr. Platen, who was sent to his assistance. The Swedes, once so formidable, but whose prowess now consisted in ravaging the open country, when they had not any opposition to encounter, were reduced by a feeble detachment under Mr. Wedel to act on the defensive; and instead of attempting conquests, thought themselves happy in being allowed to retire into winter quarters under the walls of Stralsund. The advanced season likewise compelled the Austrians and Prussians

From thence marches to Saxony, and obliges Daun to retire from the neighbourhood of Dresden.

Successes of the Prussians against the Russians and Swedes, December 1758.

CHAP. IV. **fians to suspend their hostilities. Daun retired into Bohemia. The king observed with a watchful eye the frontier of that province, and established his head quarters at Breslaw.**

The domestic afflictions of Frederick.

His characters of the marchioness of Bareith.

The fortune of the war was not much affected by the events of the winter, which had been distinguished by the deaths of illustrious personages, among whom were the prince royal of Prussia, whose amiable disposition and virtuous character promised a happy reign; and the marchioness of Bareith, the king's favourite sister. She was (his Majesty observes) a princess of the most exalted merit; an understanding cultivated by study and reflection, with a genius fitted for every situation, and a singular talent for all the arts. Yet these happy endowments formed the least valuable part of her character. Her goodness of heart, her generous and beneficent disposition, were blended with singular elevation of soul and ineffable sweetness of temper. The most sincere and tender friendship united the king and this respectable sister. The attachment had grown from their earliest years; time had knit them more fastly together; fidelity, the most inviolable on both sides, rendered the tie indissoluble. The dangers which threatened her family preyed on her constitution, naturally delicate. She died the 14th of October 1758, the same day on which her brother was de-

feated

feated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen; a day which (his Majesty observes) “the Romans would have marked with black, on account of the multiplied disasters which it produced. But in this enlightened age, men have recovered from the illusion of lucky and unlucky days. They know that their lives hang by a slender thread; that the loss or gain of a battle often depends on a trifle; and that our destinies are involved in the general chain of secondary causes, which amidst the variety of events that they produce, must sometimes gladden us with joy, and sometimes sadden us with sorrow.”

CHAP. IV.

Such are the reflections of his Majesty, though the events of his life might on this head have inclined him to superstition. In the preceding year, immediately after his defeat at Kolin, which had well nigh ruined his affairs, he received the melancholy news of the death of the queen dowager, whom he had ever venerated as a most tender and respectable mother. “Her death,” he says, “was not accompanied by a mourning of mere ceremony; it was felt as a public calamity. The grandees of the kingdom regretted her easy and gracious behaviour; persons of inferior condition, her winning affability; the poor, their refuge; the unhappy, their best resource; men of letters,

and of the
queen
dowager.

R

their

CHAP. their protectress; and those of her own family, **IV.** who appertained to her more nearly, felt, in losing her, that they lost a part of themselves, and were more deeply wounded than she was, by the stroke that destroyed her." Such are the affectionate sentiments of a king trained in camps, familiarised with bloodshed, and harassed by the unrelenting persecution of enemies as formidable as they were implacable.

Proceed-
ings of
the Pope
and the
ecclesi-
astical
princes of
Germany
against
Frede-
rick.

The winter 1758 likewise proved fatal to Benedict XIV. the most liberal and enlightened pontiff that ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. The Austrian and French factions appointed as his successor, the Venetian Rezzonico, who assumed the title of Clement XIII. Among the first measures adopted by the new Pope, was the sending a consecrated sword to marechal Daun, for having beat the king at Hochkirchen, although presents of that kind, even according to the maxims of the court of Rome, ought to be made only to such generals as have fought against infidels. The irregular severity of the father of the catholic world was imitated by the ecclesiastical princes of Germany. The elector of Cologne, in particular, published an edict forbidding, under very severe penalties, his protestant subjects to rejoice at the Prussian victories.

These

These petty proceedings of petty courts excited only ridicule or contempt; while the passions which agitated the great courts of Europe, were preparing events the most tragical. At Versailles, the Abbé Bernis had been appointed minister of foreign affairs, and soon after created a cardinal, for his services towards concluding the treaty of Vienna. Until his fortune was established, Bernis had not been very scrupulous about the means of rising to dignity; but being once settled in office, he was inclined to regulate his conduct by principles conformable to the public interest. France, he perceived, shared the burden, without any prospect of sharing even the eventual advantages of the war. He therefore seriously wished for peace; and in order to obtain it, applied secretly to England. But the marchioness of Pompadour, who had adopted a different system, discovered and thwarted his measures. He was disgraced and exiled to his bishopric of Aix; and as his folly had raised him to greatness, so his wisdom again reduced him to nothing. He was replaced by Mr. de Choiseul, a native of Lorraine, ambassador from France to Vienna, and son of Mr. de Stainville, the Emperor's ambassador at Paris.

From his parentage and connections, it is not surprising that Choiseul should begin his administration to the

CHAP.
IV.

Revolu-
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the court
of France,
1759;

Proceed-
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the Pop-
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Assembly
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CHAP. nistrated by entering into a new and more intimate treaty with the House of Austria; a treaty
 IV. which he ordered the academy of inscriptions to
 House of Austria, commemorate by a medal. The allied courts
 1759. continued their intrigues at St. Petersburg; and prevailed on the Empress, by gaining her favourite Shuvalow, to make vigorous preparations for wiping off the disgrace sustained by her troops in the battle of Zorndorf. The king of Poland concurred with these measures; and such was his influence with Elizabeth, that she procured him the dutchy of Courland for his third son, prince Charles; an establishment of which the impetuosity of his own temper, and the resentment of the great duke, which he had justly provoked, afterwards deprived that headstrong prince. The Prussian negotiations at the Porte were not more successful than formerly; because, notwithstanding the greatness of the bribes tendered by Frederick's emissaries, the Austrians and French bribed with equal profusion; and the Turks preferred the money given them as the reward of inactivity, to that which was offered them as an incitement to take arms. During this year, the naval enterprises of the English reflected lustre on their allies, and intimidated their enemies. The Empress Elizabeth, fearful lest they should send a fleet to the Baltic, and destroy the harbour of Cronschlott, negotiated

gotiated a treaty with Sweden and Denmark, to prohibit foreign vessels from passing the Sound. CHAP. IV.

The subsidies granted by France to Denmark forwarded the conclusion of this alliance; which gave little umbrage to the English, who disdained the Baltic and the Sound, while they reigned sovereigns of the ocean.

The time necessary for re-establishing his army, and disciplining his raw recruits, prevented the king of Prussia, from taking the field early in the year 1759. He remained in Silesia, watching the Austrians on one side, and the Russians on the other. Prince Ferdinand opened the campaign against the French, commanded by Messrs. de Contades and Broglio, whose head quarters were at Frankfort. The first operations of both armies were confined to the destroying of magazines, the intercepting of detachments, and the occupying of posts. Towards the end of July, Mr. de Contades encamped with the main division of his forces near to Minden, on the left side of the Weser, while Mr. de Broglio occupied the right. Prince Ferdinand, who had remounted the river, in order to discover and traverse their designs, found their army too strongly posted to hazard an attack. He therefore seized the ground between Hille and Friedland, fortified the village of Tonhausen, and detached

Prince
Ferdinand's
campaign
on the
Weser,
July and
August
1759.

CHAP. tached the hereditary prince to Gohfeld to harass
 IV. the rear of the enemy. Mr. de Contades began to
 act precisely as prince Ferdinand would have directed him. Being joined by Mr. de Broglio, he prepared to march across a marsh which covered the allied army, and at length attacked that army on the first of August.

Battle of
 Minden,
 August 1,
 1759.

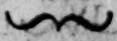
Prince Ferdinand had taken the precaution to open the roads, and to prepare his communications in such a manner, that while his enemies assaulted Tonhausen, he could without obstacle assault *them*. His victory was much owing to the spirit and perseverance of the English infantry, who having put the French horse to the rout, afterwards resisted their foot, and allowed leisure for prince Ferdinand to advance seasonably with fresh brigades. The village of Tonhausen was feebly assaulted by Mr. de Broglio, his squadrons were twice repulsed, and the infantry began on all sides to retire in confusion. The same day, the

Battle of
 Gohfeld,
 on the
 same day.

hereditary prince defeated the duke of Brissac, whom he had found at Gohfeld, with 6000 men; an event as decisive as the battle of Minden itself, because it obliged the enemy to repass the Weser, and retreat to Cassel. The French lost 6000 men in that battle, of whom 3000 were made prisoners. The surrender of Minden was the immediate consequence

The
 French

sequence

sequence of the victory, of which prince Ferdinand CHAP. IV.  availed himself so successfully, that at the end of the campaign, the French, now commanded by Mr. de Broglie (for Contades had been recalled with disgrace), were obliged to retire to Frankfort, and to leave the allies in quiet possession of every province and every town which belonged to them at the declaration of war. deprived of all their conquests in Germany.

The king's operations during this season were far less prosperous, or rather were so exceedingly unfortunate, that the Prussians must have been undone, had not their enemies, who had learned how to conquer, remained as yet ignorant how to profit of their victories. Posted in Silesia between two great armies, the king, in the beginning of the campaign, had intercepted several of their detachments, and destroyed several of their magazines. His main purpose was to prevent the junction of the Austrians and Russians; and, as it was observed that the latter traversed Poland in divisions, his Majesty detached count Dohna, with Messrs. Hulsén and Itzemplitz, to attack their enemies successively, hoping that their superior activity would have enabled them to defeat one division before it could be supported by another. But the slowness and dissensions of these generals produced effects totally different from those which his Majesty had expected;

Frederick reduced to great difficulties by the disagreement among his generals, and their defeat at Kay, June 23, 1759.

CHAP.

IV.

June 23.

expected; and the disorders, which prevailed in the eastern army, proved the source of the calamities which overwhelmed the Prussians in this disastrous campaign. The king sent Mr. Wedel to command that army as dictator, though younger in service, and inferior in rank, to those whom he was appointed to control. He was defeated at Kay, near Crossen on the Oder, with the loss of more than 4000 men. This misfortune totally disconcerted the king's measures. Kustrin and Frankfort on the Oder were exposed to immediate danger by the position of the Russians under Soltikow at Crossen; and if these places were taken, Berlin, that capital without defence, must have surrendered on the first summons.

His measures for opposing the Austrians and Russians.

It was hazardous to weaken the Silesian army, already too feeble. Mr. de Fouquet defended the gorges of Landshut against Mr. de Ville; he commanded 10,000 men; the Austrian, 20,000.—The king's army was 40,000 strong; marechal Daun's 70,000. Yet new forces were required to defend Brandenburg and the capital. For this purpose, his Majesty, considering that the enemy would be disposed to deal tenderly with Dresden, which was still the residence of the family of the king of Poland, determined to withdraw prince Henry's detachment from Saxony. That prince, having conducted

conducted forty squadrons and twenty-two battalions to Sagan, joined the king at Schmuckfeiffen, and was appointed to command the royal army, as the only person to whom it could with safety be entrusted. His Majesty on the other hand hastened northward, and took the command of the forces assembled at Sagan for the defence of his hereditary dominions.

The Russians, encouraged by success, and now reinforced by the Austrians under mareschal Laudohn, encamped at Kunersdorf, near Frankfort on the Oder. It was necessary to attack them speedily, because the events, which had happened in Saxony since the departure of the army, required his Majesty's presence in that electorate. The first operations of the Prussians were successful; and the battle must have been won by their prowess, had not general Laudohn anticipated them by 150 steps, in their attempt to seize a Russian battery, which commanded the whole plain. This fire being again turned against them, they were thrown into confusion. His Majesty retired the last man, and must have been taken prisoner, had not 100 hussars hastened to his relief. So uncertain and fluctuating a quality is courage in the minds of soldiers, that the same troops who had often defied the ardour of the French

Is defeated by the Russians at Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759.

CHAP. French and the perseverance of the Germans,
 IV. now trembled at the name of the Cossacks; and
 having learned that a body of these barbarians occupied the ground of their camp, fled above the distance of a mile, before their commanders could rally them. The Russians doubtless gained this battle; but by their own confession, it cost them 24,000 men. The Prussians lost 10,000 killed, wounded, or taken. The king, who had flattered himself with the hopes of victory, had given orders to Mr. Wunsch to occupy Frankfort, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat. That brave officer made himself master of the place, in which he took 400 prisoners. But the unexpected issue of the battle obliged him to abandon his conquest, and to return to Reitwein, where the whole army encamped after passing the Oder.

Jealousies
 between
 the Rus-
 sians and
 Austrians.

The king could hardly assemble 10,000 men on the evening of the day of battle. Next day they amounted to 18,000; and a few days after to 28,000. Had his enemies been more active, they might have given the finishing stroke to his bad fortune. But to count Daun, who pressed the Russians to act, Mr. Soltikow wrote, "I have done enough this year, having won two battles, which together cost my country 27,000 men; I must now wait until you have gained two such victories;

victories; it is not fair that the troops of my
sovereign should sustain the whole brunt of the
war." CHAP
IV.

Notwithstanding these jealousies between their
enemies, the affairs of the Prussians still appeared
desperate. Marechal Daun advanced; the troops
of the Circles had taken Torgau and Wittenberg;
and Mr. Schmettau had given away Dresden, since
he surrendered that city, before any breach was
effected, and even before the trenches were open-
ed. His Majesty had embraced the resolution of
defending Berlin against every assailant, or of pe-
rishing with arms in his hands. The first ray of
hope broke from Silesia, where Mr. Fouquet hav-
ing repelled Mr. de Ville, took 1300 prisoners,
and drove the enemy to Branau in Bohemia.—
Meanwhile the address and celerity of prince
Henry in destroying Daun's magazines, compell-
ed that general, with whose superior strength the
prince could not prudently contend in battle, to
retreat to Bautzen in Lusatia.

Multi-
plied dis-
asters of
the Prus-
sians re-
paired by
Mr. Fou-
quet and
prince
Henry.

October
and No-
vember.

These skilful and spirited operations were fol-
lowed by a long train of happy incidents, which,
though singly small, amounted together to a great
sum of success. The king having defended Silesia
and Brandenburg against Soltikow and Laudohn,
During
the rigour
of winter,
Frederick
resists all
his ene-
mies, De-
cember
marched

CHAP. IV. marched into Saxony, where his affairs had suffered much by the defeat of general Finck at Maxen, who being surrounded by mareschal Daun, commanded thirty-five squadrons and sixteen battalions to lay down their arms. This misfortune hindered the total expulsion of the enemy from Saxony, an object which the king was so desirous to effect, and count Daun so solicitous to prevent, that both armies remained encamped during winter, the Prussians at Zwickau, and the Austrians at Plauen, the first example perhaps in modern times of two great armies keeping the field so near to each other in such a rigorous season. The recal of the Prussian detachment from Pomerania afforded the Swedes an opportunity of taking Peenemunde; and this place, together with Dresden, formed the only ground, which, amidst all his disasters, the king had lost at the end of the campaign. His army in Saxony extended from Zwickau to Wilsdruf; Mr. de Fouquet was posted at Landshut to defend Silesia; and a great body of cavalry at Cosdorf covered Torgau and the electorate of Brandenburg.

The death of Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, 1759. Amidst the rigours of this winter's campaign, an event passed unregarded, which at any other period would have afforded matter of much speculation. — By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle,

France,

CHAP.

IV.

France, Austria, and England had stipulated that when Don Carlos should succeed to his brother the king of Spain, the youngest brother Don Philip, duke of Parma, should obtain the kingdom of Naples, and the dutchy of Parma should revert to the House of Austria. The king of Spain died without issue; Don Carlos succeeded to that kingdom; and regardless of the treaty of Aix, against which he had formally protested, regulated the succession to Naples according to his own fancy. His eldest son was judged incapable of inheritance on account of his mental imbecility; the second was declared prince of Asturias; and the third, king of Naples. Don Philip therefore retained possession of Parma and Placentia, and the Empress Queen was disappointed in her expectation of enjoying these districts. Many wars have arisen in Europe from causes less valid. But the contest in which she had engaged with such implacable animosity, restrained Maria Theresa from breaking with her French allies, by whose assistance she hoped to recover Silesia, a province far more important than the dutchies of Parma and Placentia.

The Empress Queen, solicitous to recover Silesia, waves her claim to Parma and Placentia.

Frederick was duly attentive to these revolutions in Italy, because a diversion in Lombardy might have afforded him much relief. By means

Frederick negotiates with the king of Sardinia, of 1760;

CHAP. of his aid de camp, Cocceji, he founded the king
 IV. of Sardinia, but found that aged prince totally
 devoted to superstition, and intirely divested of
 that passion for war which had distinguished his
 youth. Since the confederacy between France
 and Austria, his Sardinian majesty was destitute
 of allies, and by taking arms in defence of Prus-
 sia, he would have been obliged to contend with
 Austrians, French, and Spaniards, as well as with
 the subjects of Naples and Parma.

with
 Russia and
 France.

As foreign assistance could not be obtained,
 and the war continually became more burden-
 some, his Majesty attempted to set on foot a nego-
 tiation both in France and Russia, with a view of
 detaching either the one or the other of these
 powers from the interest of the House of Austria.
 England, notwithstanding her rapid series of na-
 val and military success, condescended to enter into
 the same pacific views. But all that could be ob-
 tained from the enemy was the offer of discussing
 their respective claims in a congress to be held at
 Augsburgh. Such a congress the king foresaw
 might continue as long as that of Munster, which
 lasted six years, and therefore could not answer the
 purpose of a man who wished a speedy end to his
 troubles.

This

This consideration made him apply secretly to France, by means of a young man, named Edel-
 sheim, who being totally unknown at Versailles, could not excite any suspicion at that court. Edel-
 sheim was told that the success of his negotiation would depend on the facility of accommodating matters between France and England; but that, as it was understood his Prussian Majesty proposed indemnifying the king of Poland, by secularising the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany, the most Christian king would never give his consent to any such measure. To the proposals of George II. which required as a fundamental article the entire preservation of the king of Prussia, France answered, That she was extremely ready to settle her differences with England, but that not having been engaged directly in a war with Prussia, she could not confound the affairs of that country with the interests of his Britannic Majesty. Mr. Edelsheim, meanwhile, had travelled to Saxony to communicate his answer to the king; from thence he repaired to England to impart it to the British ministry; and then purposing to return to Germany, took Paris in his way, and went with as little disguise as formerly, to the house of the Maltese ambassador, the Bailli de Froulay, to whom he had been at first recommended. That minister persuaded him to defer his journey a few days longer,

CHAP.
 IV.

Edelsheim employed as his secret agent at the court of Versailles;

CHAP. ger, in order to have time to resume his negotia-

IV.

His singular treatment by the duke de Choiseul.

tion. Edelsheim consented; but next day was not a little surprised to find himself arrested by a *lettre de cachet*, and conducted to the Bastille. The duke de Choiseul immediately visited him in the place of his confinement, and assured the prisoner that he could not contrive any other method than that which he had adopted, of conversing with him freely, without giving suspicion to the Austrian minister, Mr. Staremberg, who watched all his measures with the utmost jealousy. The duke added, That he would willingly detain him, as long as the business required, in that place, which was peculiarly well fitted for a secret negotiation, and that he would furnish him with safe and expeditious means of sending his dispatches to the king his master. This disgraceful scene had been prepared for no other purpose but that of rifling Edelsheim's papers, in which the duke expected to find some instructions from the king of Prussia, which might enable him to unravel the designs of that prince. But in ransacking the German's portfoglio, his grace found nothing of any consequence but a letter of credit of which Edelsheim had not made use; and provoked at having committed this barren act of unsuccessful meanness, he allowed the young man to be set at liberty, with positive orders to quit the kingdom as speedily as possible by the way to Turin.

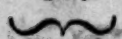
His

His Majesty's negotiations at St. Petersburg, CHAP. IV. in which he employed a gentleman of Holstein, were not more successful; except that the Russians dismissed his emissary more politely than Edelsheim had been dismissed by the French. The Empress was governed by her favourite Shuwalow, who was himself governed by the courts of France and Vienna; and, as she had been promised the kingdom of Prussia by her allies, she already regarded that country as annexed to her dominions, and was unwilling to enter into any correspondence which might have a tendency to intercept that magnificent prospect. The king of Denmark, who dreaded the aggrandisement, and still more the neighbourhood of Russia, seemed less disinclined to second the views of the court of Berlin. He knew that the Russians intended that year to form the siege of Colberg, after the taking of which place they must have been masters of the Baltic. Their immediate, and still more, their remote views, gave much umbrage to Christian VI. who considered that the great duke had pretensions to Schleswic, which he would not fail to assert as soon as he mounted the throne; a design which would be greatly facilitated by the destruction of his Prussian Majesty; whereas, while a state like Prussia subsisted in the middle between Russia and Denmark, it was scarcely pos-

Frederick's negotiation with Denmark, 1760.

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sible for the former, how powerful soever at home, to carry on a successful war in Schleswic or Holstein. These prudential considerations engaged the Danish ministry to make overtures to the Prussian envoy at Copenhagen. They begun by offering their assistance to defend Pomerania; irresolution and timidity made them speedily repent their offer; they were anxious to break off the negotiation, and that they might retract their first proposal, without giving offence to the king of Prussia, they estimated their assistance at so high a price, that they were sure his Majesty would reject it on such terms. Having thus knocked as it were at every door, and finding how little aid was to be expected from the courts of Europe, Frederick had recourse to his old allies, valour and perseverance, for extricating himself from the unequal and destructive contest in which he had been reluctantly engaged.

Distribution of the Prussian troops preparatory to the campaign 1760.

In the spring, his Majesty assumed the command of the army in Saxony; prince Henry was sent to oppose the Russians in Pomerania; Mr. Fouquet guarded the frontiers of Silesia; and the prince of Wirtemberg was detached to restrain the incursions of the Swedes. These arrangements seemed to be the best adapted to counteract the operations of the enemy; for count Daun had received

orders

orders to assemble the grand army in Saxony, and without waiting to expel the remains of the Prussians from that electorate (a task which was to be left to the prince of Deuxponts, who commanded the troops of the Circles), to return immediately to Silesia, and complete the conquest of that province; a design in which he was to be assisted by the Russians, who had promised to pass the Oder, and by Mr. Laudohn, who was at the head of an army 40,000 strong. This formidable project of concentrating the strength of such powerful enemies, afforded reason to apprehend that the ensuing campaign would prove still more fatal than the former. To counterbalance this dispiriting reflection, his Majesty had recourse to the useful efficacy of fortunate predictions, to the probable success of imaginary diversions, and to all those contrivances by which policy is enabled to operate on the salutary superstition, and convenient credulity, of the vulgar.

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Frederick's
contrivances for
encouraging his
troops,
April
1760.

The operations of his troops corresponded with the generous sentiments which he had employed such pains to inspire. In Upper Silesia, Manteuffel's regiment of infantry defended itself during a long march against four regiments of Austrian cavalry; and in moving from Landshut to Neisse, Mosel's infantry resisted a body of cavalry still

Their successful
enterprises,
May
1760.

CHAP.
IV.

more powerful, commanded by Mr. Draskowitz; killed great numbers of the enemy without losing a single man; and, after this glorious and almost unexampled defence, entered triumphant into the fortrefs of Neisse. Superiority of numbers indeed sometimes prevailed; but on such occasions, the defeat of the Prussians was more honourable than the victory of their enemies. Mr. Laudohn having traversed the county of Glatz, penetrated into Silesia by Reichenbach, and threatened to besiege Breslaw. Mr. de Fouquet, who was posted at Landshut, hastened to defend that capital. Apprised of this movement, the enemy returned to the county of Glatz, and blocked up the city of that name, after occupying the post which Mr. de Fouquet had abandoned. That enterprising general, with only 10,000 men, followed the Austrians amounting to 40,000, and dislodged them from Landshut; purposing to guard the frontiers of Bohemia, and as soon as he should be reinforced, to move towards Glatz, and compel the enemy to raise the blockade.

Fouquet's
defeat at
Landshut
more glo-
rious than
a victory,
June 23,
1760.

Having detached Mr. de Ziethen with four bat-
talions to Zeissenberg, to secure the communication
with Schweidnitz, Fouquet pitched his tents on the
mountains between Blasdorf and Doctorberg. But
a camp, as Frederick observes, ought to be like a
garment,

garment, neither too large nor too small; and the ground which Mr. de Fouquet had been under the necessity of occupying, was far too extensive for his troops to maintain. Laudohn enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring with little danger a great reputation. Having left 12,000 men to continue the blockade of Glatz, he marched with 28,000 against Fouquet, whose numbers were now diminished by the departure of Ziethen's detachment; and adding stratagem to force, occupied in the night two eminences, which commanded the flank and rear of the Prussians. Notwithstanding the multiplied disadvantages under which he laboured, Fouquet defended his post with heroic valour, and persevered in his defence, until he perceived a body of Austrian cavalry advancing in full career to intercept his retreat. He then descended from the mountains, and having formed his infantry into a square, prepared to conduct them to Bolkenhayn. The first assaults of the Austrian cavalry were vigorously repelled; but the Prussians had almost consumed their ammunition; Fouquet being twice wounded, was taken; and his infantry were surrounded and overwhelmed by numbers. But this disaster, which resembled that of the Spartans at Thermopylæ both in its catastrophe and in the incidents preceding it, far from tarnishing the fame of an officer so long and so firmly established,

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blished, adorned his renown with new lustre, and furnished a memorable example of what courage and perseverance may effect against the greatest superiority of strength and numbers. The whole of this illustrious band did not perish. The hussars and dragoons made their way through the enemy by the point of the sword; and not only saved themselves, but conducted 1500 of the infantry in safety to Breslaw. Ziethen seasonably threw his detachment into Schweidnitz, to avoid the fate of Fouquet. The Austrians used their advantages most barbarously; the soldiers plundering Landshut with shocking circumstances of licentious cruelty, while the officers encouraged and applauded their most abominable excesses, which neither respected age nor pitied youth, and which only spared deformity and disease.

Frederick's singular contrivance for at once maintaining his ground in Saxony, and defending Silesia.

The received king in Saxony the unwelcome news the blockade of Glatz; a place which being as it were the key to Silesia, he could not consent to abandon, at the same time that it was extremely dangerous to quit Saxony, where the remains of his army must be exposed to count Daun's great superiority of numbers. In this emergency, the best expedient appeared to be that of conducting the march to Silesia in such a manner, that his Majesty might oblige Daun to attend his motions

tions and thus allure the greater army to follow in the train of a lesser. Nor could this measure be executed without considerable risk, since it would necessarily place the Prussians between Laudohn, who was already in Silesia, and Daun who was supposed to accompany the king thither. Frederick however determined to run this risk, hoping that he might be reinforced by Mr. de Fouquet, of whose disaster he was as yet ignorant. In this design his Majesty proceeded to Berbigsdorf, where he learned Fouquet's defeat and captivity, circumstances which rendered his own presence in Silesia more necessary than ever. It was the middle of July; and the heat was so intense, that eighty men dropped down dead in one march. The rear of the Prussians was so much harassed by Laschy's cavalry, that the king having detached 500 hussars to observe the motions of count Daun, determined to rid himself of that partisan. He therefore changed his front, attacked and defeated Laschy, and obliged him to repass the Elbe near Dresden. Before this time, Daun had proceeded so far on his march, that it was impossible to prevent his entering Silesia. To compel him to return from that province, the king, who found himself in the neighbourhood of Dresden, suddenly invested that city. This measure, tho' quite unpremeditated, would have been crowned with success, and Dresden must have speedily surrendered,

He invests
Dresden,
July 13,
1760.

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IV.

Glatz
taken by
the Aus-
trians.

rendered, had not the want of ammunition conspired with the approach of Mareschal Daun to make the Prussians raise the siege. To these circumstances was added a reason more decisive, the conquest of Glatz by Mr. Harfch; an event altogether unexpected, as that place was strongly fortified, and strongly garrisoned, and abundantly provided with arms and magazines for standing a long siege. The plan for taking it had been laid by Mr. Laudohn, who by means of the Jesuits and other religious fraternities, and the whole Popish priesthood, eternal enemies to Frederick, had contrived to corrupt the soldiers of the garrison; and the troops posted on that part of the works where Harfch made his assault, were of the number of those who had yielded to their temptations.

Frederick
marches
into Sile-
sia be-
tween two
great
Austrian
armies,
August
1760.

Apprised of this fatal event, Frederick resumed his first resolution of marching into Silesia; and according to the plan which he had contrived, his army was so closely attended by that of mareschal Daun, that a spectator would have supposed them to be commanded by the same general. The mareschal's army formed the van; the king's, the middle; and the division of Mr. Laschy, who had repassed the Elbe, composed the rear. The last, however, restrained by his recent check, advanced more cautiously than before, and kept at the distance

distance of three miles from the Prussians. This arrangement afforded the king an opportunity of intercepting a courier from Daun to Laschy, charged with a letter, in which he asked his opinion, Whether it would be more advisable to undertake the siege of Schweidnitz, or that of Neisse; and desiring him not to fatigue his troops by useless expedition. His Majesty arrived at Bunzlau, the same day that mareschal Daun reached Lewenberg; and the two armies having marched in five days from the banks of the Elbe to those of the Bober, stood equally in need of repose. After halting one day, they again put themselves in motion, the king with the hope of reaching his great magazines in Breslaw or Schweidnitz; the enemy with a view to cut off his communication with those cities.

Such opposite aims produced singular contrasts in the movements of the two armies. The king, sensible that it would be highly imprudent with 30,000 men to risk an engagement against an army 90,000 strong, could think of no other expedient in the present exigency, than that of imitating the conduct of a partisan, who changes his situation every night, in order to avoid the irresistible shock of superior numbers. But while his Majesty continually changed his post for the safety

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His dextrous expedient for resisting superior numbers.

CHAP. of his troops, he durst not venture to remove too
 IV. far from the enemy, lest they should have turned
 their arms against prince Henry, who had already
 to contend with 80,000 Russians. To unite both
 objects, his Majesty moved from one height to
 another, but always kept the Austrians in view.
 They examined his positions, and formed their
 plans accordingly; but before they proceeded to
 put them in execution, the Prussians had already
 disappeared, and occupied a new camp, before
 which Daun was obliged again to repeat the
 same tedious formalities.

Movements
 preparatory to
 the battle
 of Lignitz,
 August
 15, 1760;

Agreeably to this system, which afforded a temporary resource against superior strength, the king stood at bay, and watched an opportunity to assault one division of his enemies, while the others were too remote to yield it assistance. This design became the more necessary, because he had been informed by his spies, that Mr. Czernichef, at the head of 20,000 Russians, had passed the Oder at Anras. Two generals, who have conducted hostile armies for a series of years, acquire the habit of divining each other's intentions. The king, who was encamped at Lignitz, perceived that Mr. Lascy's division meant to turn his right; that marefchal Daun, reinforced by the Russians, prepared to attack him in front; and that Mr. Laudohn

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dohn would probably occupy the heights of Pfaffendorf to cut off his retreat to Glogau. To prevent this complicated danger, he quitted his camp at Lignitz, passed the river Katzbach, and examined with his generals the heights of Pfaffendorf. His army began to march in the dusk of the evening; and soon afterwards, a deserter from the enemy, an Irishman by birth and an officer, was brought to his Majesty. He was so much intoxicated, that his stammering could hardly express that he had an important secret to reveal; and after undergoing proper evacuations, he was unable to explain this secret, which turned out to be nothing else than what his Majesty had divined, marechal Daun's resolution to give battle next day. By their nocturnal march, however, the Prussians had withdrawn themselves from his assault; and having now formed on the sloping bank at Pfaffendorf, which commanded all the avenues by which the enemy could approach them, they prepared to bring on an action with general Laudohn, who, as his Majesty had conjectured, was marching to take possession of the advantageous ground which he himself had already occupied.

Laudohn, who imagined that he might have a small detachment to dislodge, but who little suspected

in which
the Aus-
trian
armies are

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defeated,
and com-
pelled to
retreat;
August
15, 1760.

pected that he had a great army to combat, was easily allured to advance within reach of the Prussian cannon. The darkness of the night, and the surprise, contributed to the completeness of his defeat. The field of battle was covered with 10,000 slain. The Prussians took 6000 prisoners, besides eighty officers, two generals, twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon. The feeble remnant of Laudohn's army fled in disorder towards Wahlstadt. At day-break, Daun and Laschy advanced to attack the Prussians at Lignitz, but were surprised to find an empty camp. The king had amused them in the night by some hussars, who imitated the noise of patrols and sentinels. That day proved most inauspicious to the Austrians. The wind was so unfavourable, that they had not heard the report of 200 pieces of cannon, which fired at half a mile's distance. Their first news of the enemy was the sight of the Prussians arrayed in order of battle, on the opposite side of the Katzbach. After long hesitation, Daun determined to attack that division; but his Majesty, who had defeated Laudohn with his left, had by this time moved to his right; and perceiving that the Prussian artillery much disconcerted the marshal's movements, he ordered his troops to fire in demonstration of joy, which completed the irresolution of the Austrians, and precipitated their retreat.

retreat. Diligently availing themselves of their victory over Laudohn, of the hesitation marschal Daun, and of the remoteness of Mr. Lascy, who had been detached to seek a ford over the Schwarzwasser, the Prussians, who were in want of provisions, immediately passed the Katzbach at Parchwitz, in order to approach their magazines; having repelled with little difficulty Mr. Nauendorf, who guarded the banks of that river.

Frederick having encamped at Parchwitz, learned that the Russians under Czernichef had advanced as far as Lissa. These invaders might be joined by the Austrians; they might proceed to Neustadt; and by occupying that post, might intercept the communication of the army with Breslaw, and thereby oblige the Prussians to risk another battle, before they effected the purpose which they had in view. In order to rid himself of this new enemy, the king had recourse to a stratagem. He wrote a letter to his brother prince Henry, mentioning that he had completely defeated the Austrians, that he was preparing a bridge on the Oder, and after passing that river, hoped, with equal success, to attack the Russians commanded by Mr. Soltikow. He therefore desired his brother to put in execution the measures which had been concerted between them. This letter was

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defeated
and com-
bated to
return
August
1760

Frederick
disperfed
the Ruf-
fians by a
stratagem,
Septem-
ber 1760;

con-

CHAP. IV.  configned to a peasant, who had orders to throw himself in the way of Mr. Czernichef's advanced parties.

Trusting to the effect of this expedient, the army advanced in three columns towards Neumarck. In this march, the hussars defeated a detachment which escorted a part of the enemy's baggage. Having seized this booty, they learned that the conquered detachment belonged to Mr. Beck's division, which was in full march to join the Prussians at Neumarck. Soon after, marshal Daun's whole army was seen advancing on the Prussian right. The situation of the king was now very perplexing. The soldiers had bread for only one day. They were cut off from Schweidnitz by marshal Daun; the Russians were probably posted at Neumarck to intercept their communication with Breslaw; they were encumbered with 6000 prisoners, and 1100 wounded; it would be hazardous to risk a new engagement, and mortifying to retreat towards Glogau. When the heads of his columns had reached Blumerode, the king advanced with a body of hussars, and penetrating into the forest of Neumarck, proceeded near enough to that place, to perceive that there was not any camp in its neighbourhood. An officer who had been sent to explore the country more accurately, returned with an Austrian colonel, who had been entrusted with dispatches for Mr.

Mr. Czernichef; and who, enraged at being made CHAP. prisoner, vented his execrations against the Rus- IV. sians, who had repassed the Oder, destroyed the bridge, and left him a prey to the enemy.

From this agreeable intelligence, it appeared and gains that the letter committed to the peasant had pro- a commu- duced the desired effect: Czernichef had hastened with Breslaw, to reinforce Soltikow; and the Prussians entered 1760. unmolested into their camp at Neumarck. As the communication was thus opened with Breslaw, the troops now assured of subsistence, were entitled to a short repose, after nine days of unremitting fatigue, which they had endured with heroic patience.

His Majesty however was still surrounded by The vicinity of the numerous enemies; and as the two Prussian ar- Prussian mies, respectively commanded by prince Henry and Austrian armies, and himself, were too feeble to act separately, he commanded that prince to join him with his main its extra- force, and to detach Mr. Golz with 12,000 men to ordinary effects, observe the motions of the Russians. After this 1760. junction, his Majesty, that he might gain leisure to drive the Russians from the frontiers of Brandenburg, attempted to expel the Austrians from Silesia, by various marches calculated for turning their flanks, in order to destroy their magazines,

CHAP.

IVI

zines, and intercept their convoys from Bolesmia. But Mr. Daun at length posted his army so judiciously on the mountains of Bagenndorf, that by a small movement of his centre, he had it in his power to oblige the Prussians to make a much greater one of their flanks. The king encamped on the heights of Beerndorf and Dalmandorf; and the hostile armies were so completely shut up among the intricacies of the mountains, that neither of them could safely move a single step. Their unusual vicinity enabled them to cannonade each other with effect; but as this act of hostility could not have produced any decisive advantage both remained quiet; their out-posts were contiguous; they mutually showed the way to each other's patrols, who happened to wander in the obscurity of night; and a stranger who had witnessed their proceedings, must have supposed that they had concluded an armistice.

The Russians re-
pass the
Oder, and
invade
Branden-
burgh,
October
1760.

Mr. Daun, who regretted losing the fruits of his campaign, employed every engine to move the Russians to invade Brandenburgh. Such an expedition, he hoped, by wounding the most tender part, would oblige Frederick to hasten to the defence of his hereditary dominions, and his capital; and to leave to himself free scope for prosecuting his operations in Silesia. Moved by his
insti-

instigations, and encouraged by his reinforcements, Messrs. Czernichef and Tottleben passed the Oder at Beuthen, and advanced to Christianstadt, while general Soltikow marched towards Frankfort, where he arrived the 6th of October. The prince of Wirtemberg, who had been employed against the Swedes and Russians in Pomerania, no sooner received intelligence of this invasion, than he hastened to the defence of Berlin, leaving Mr. Werner to resist the incursions of the northern enemy, whom his boldness had recently impressed with a strong sensation of terror.

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The singular expedition of Mr. Werner deserves to be related in few words, to brighten the tragic gloom of this melancholy history. The Russian admiral Danielowitz, with twenty-six ships of war, had been joined by a Swedish squadron; and the combined fleets had begun to form the siege of Colberg the 26th of August. Werner hastened to its relief, surprised the enemy at Selnow, made himself master of the important pass of Kautzenberg, and threw his four battalions and nine squadrons into the place. Alarmed by the rapidity of his progress, the combined armies raised the siege, and embarked on board their fleet, abandoning their cannon and ammunition. Werner took 600 prisoners; and next day advanced with

Mr. Werner repels the Swedish fleet with nine squadrons of dragoons.

T

his

CHAP.
IV.

Two brothers,
princes of
Wirten-
berg,
fighting
on oppo-
site sides,
to conquer
and defend
Berlin.

his cavalry to the shore of the Baltic, where, by the unaccountable effect of mechanical terror, the hostile armament weighed anchor, and fled in trepidation with crowded sail. Numberless exploits of heroism had been performed; but it was reserved for Mr. Werner to discomfit a great fleet with nine squadrons of hussars.

While the prince of Wirtenberg flew to the defence of Berlin, his elder brother, the duke, co-operated with the Austrians, and troops of the Circles, in ruining the Prussian affairs in Saxony. The king, who imagined that the Austrians would not undertake any siege in Silesia, at such an advanced season of the year, left his camp at Dittmansdorf, the 7th of October, and arrived the 15th at Gros-Maraux, with a view either to drive the invaders from Brandenburg, or to intercept their retreat. But in that electorate, the military operations took a turn altogether different from what his Majesty had expected. With 16,000 men, it was impossible to defend the vast extent of Berlin, a city three German miles in circumference, against 20,000 Russians, and 18,000 Austrians. The enemy had already begun to bombard the place; and if the Prussians, most of whom were sick or wounded, persevered in resistance, there was every reason to apprehend that

the

the troops would be made prisoners, and the capital totally ruined. These judicious reflections determined the prince of Wirtemberg and Mr. Hullen to retire to Spandau, on the 9th, after advising the inhabitants of Berlin to capitulate.

That same day, the enemy entered Berlin; and although the inhabitants had ransomed themselves from plunder and outrage, by a contribution of 2,000,000 of crowns, Messrs. Czernichef and Laszy were preparing to set fire to the city. Their violence was restrained by the just and manly remonstrances of Mr. Verelest, the Dutch envoy. That respectable republican pleaded the laws of war, urged the rights of nations, and painted to those vindictive commanders their intended cruelty in such odious colours, that they desisted from their atrocious purpose. Their fury vented itself against the palaces of Schænhousen and Charlottenbourg, which were plundered by the Cossacks and Saxons. The news of the king's approach made them retire on the 12th. Czernichef repassed the Oder, Soltikow retreated towards Landsberg; and Laszy, marking his route with desolation, returned in three days to Torgau in Saxony.

The enormities of the Austrians and Prussians in that capital, October 9, 1760;

who retire at Frederick's approach.

Thus delivered from the Russians, the king directed his march towards Saxony, in order to re-
He marches to re-establish his

CHAP.

IV.

affairs in
Saxony.

establiſh his affairs in that electorate ; moſt places of which had been regained by the enemy. Having repelled the troops of the Circles, he eſtabliſhed his quarters in the diſtrict around Leipſic. But mareſchal Daun had followed Laſcy to Torgau ; and the Imperialiſts had eſtabliſhed themſelves there in ſuch force, as afforded reaſon to dread that the Pruſſians would be cut off from Sileſia and Brandenburg ; and that theſe provinces would be again invaded by the Ruſſians ; who having ravaged the moſt valuable part of his Maſteſty's dominions, might join their allies on the banks of the Elbe, and compel the Pruſſians to take up their winter quarters beyond the Muldau, in the narrow territory between the Saale and the Unſtrut.

Defeats
mareſchal
Daun at
Torgau,
November 3,
1760.

To prevent this inconvenience (reſpecting which the information of his ſpies converted ſuſpicion into certainty), his Maſteſty determined to diſlodge the enemy from Torgau ; and, if neceſſary for that purpoſe, to riſque an engagement with far ſuperior force, ſtrongly poſted. After various manœuvres calculated to create jealouſy in Daun reſpecting the ſecurity of his ſupplies, and the ſafety of Dresden, which was weakly garrifoned, the king perceiving that the mareſchal carefully maintained his poſt, determined to commit the
fate

fate of Prussia to the decision of a battle. On the 2d of November he marched to Schilda. The enemy covered the sloping bank of Suplitz, defended by 400 pieces of cannon; their left extended beyond the village of Zinna, their right to the marsh of Grofwick. The king availed himself of their neglect to seize the narrow defile of Neiden, and penetrating into a small wood, which they had left unguarded, secretly observed their position with his own eyes. By means of this wood, and a deep ravine, 800 paces distant from the Austrian army, he was enabled to form his troops with secrecy and safety. After repeated attacks, and a most obstinate and destructive resistance, the Prussians broke the enemy's centre, and established their batteries on the hill of Suplitz. This event decided the victory, which cost Frederick 13,000 men. Daun, who was wounded in the beginning of the engagement, lost 20,000 men, of whom 8000 were taken prisoners. Torgau surrendered next day to Mr. Hulsén; the prince of Wirtemberg pursued the enemy to Arzberg; Odonnel, who succeeded Mr. Daun, returned to Dresden, and sent his enfeebled battalions into Bohemia: the king extended his quarters to Uckerisdorf, and the news of his victory so much alarmed the Russians that they retired towards Thorn, and speedily repassed the Vistula.

Frederick

CHAP.

IV.

Prince
Ferdinand
unfortu-
nate in this
campaign,
retreats
into Ha-
nover, Fe-
bruary
1761.

Frederick established his head quarters at Leip-
sic, that he might have an opportunity to oppose
the designs of the French, who, by the advanta-
ges which they had gained over prince Ferdinand
in the course of this campaign, had advanced their
posts towards the frontiers of Saxony and Bran-
denburgh. During the winter, his Majesty en-
couraged that prince to attempt the expulsion of
mareschal Broglio from the landgraviate of Hesse
Cassel. But this enterprize was not crowned with
success; and the allies thought themselves fortu-
nate in being able to retreat without loss to the
electorate of Hanover.

CHAP.

V.

more severely the pressure of his multiplied ene-
mies. He lost the battle of Torgau, his ruin Frede-
rick's plan was for the

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

Treaty with the Porte. Views of Frederick's enemies. His campaign against the Swedes, Russians, and Saxons. His singular camp at Bunzelwitz. Laudohn surprises Schweidnitz. Frederick's stratagem for preventing the bad consequences of that event. The Austrians sleep eight nights on their arms. Frederick's negotiation with the Khan of the Tartars. With the Grand Seignior. Death of the Empress of Russia. Frederick's peace with Sweden. The family compact. England breaks with Prussia. The campaign 1762. Frederick joined by the Russians. A new revolution in Russia. The Russian army recalled from Frederick's camp. He profits of their continuance there three days. Recovers Silesia. Successes of prince Henry and prince Ferdinand. Frederick's boldness intimidates all his enemies. The peace of Hubertsbourgh. Causes of Frederick's unexampled success. He repairs the evils occasioned by the war.

IN each succeeding campaign, Frederick felt CHAP. more severely the pressure of his multiplied ene- V. mies. Had he lost the battle of Torgau, his ruin
 was Frederick's plan for the

CHAP. V. ^V was inevitable; and another such victory, in which he had sacrificed 13,000 men to the necessity of securing winter quarters, would have reduced his strength to such a decided and visible inferiority, that the Prussians, brave as they were, must have trembled at the sight of their own weakness. Frederick, therefore, secretly determined to act in future chiefly on the defensive; and in order to conceal this design, the discovery of which must have ruined him at once, he resolved often to threaten, but seldom to strike; to maintain his ground with unabating firmness; and to look forward with hope, founded on experience, to the benefits of time and chance, which seldom fail to reward the virtues of patience and perseverance.

His treaty
with the
Porte.

The first ray of prosperity broke from the East; the Prussian minister was admitted to a public audience of the Sultan, and allowed to sign a treaty of friendship with the grand vizier, vague indeed and ineffectual in itself, yet sufficient to alarm the jealousy of the courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna.

State of
Europe
and views
of his
Majesty's
enemies.

In Stockholm, the assembly of the states severely arraigned the French faction for involving them in a war equally ruinous and disgraceful. In France, the boasted alliance with the House of

Austria

Austria had lost the gloss of novelty. It was unfashionable to praise it even among the vulgar; while men of sense, who, standing aloof from public affairs, were thereby enabled to appreciate their revolutions with impartial wisdom, lamented that their country should exhaust her treasure to gratify the views of an ambitious rival, and consume in an unprovoked and unnecessary German war, the resources which ought to be employed in defending her own commerce and colonies. The king of Poland sighed for peace, sensible that while Saxony was the theatre of military operations that electorate must remain a prey to the ravages not only of his enemies but of his friends. The Empress Elizabeth disliked war and bloodshed, because she hated business and trouble; but her pliant character yielded easily to the impressions of those by whom she was surrounded; her ambition was flattered by the hopes of adding the kingdom of Prussia to her dominions, already too extensive; and her pride disdained making peace until she had crushed her adversary. Maria Theresa rejoiced in the persevering animosity which she had excited in so many princes against the capital enemy of her house; and the French ministry, deaf to the clamours, and blind to the interest, of the public, maintained their hostility to Frederick with that obstinacy natural to mere men

CHAP. men of business, who are led from one false step
 V. to another, whirled round by a vortex which they
 are unable to direct, and finally lost in the intricacies of their own system.

Their deceitful
 declarations.

Such were the real views of his Majesty's enemies; but their declarations were far different. In order to calm the dissensions in Sweden, and to slacken the preparations of England, the court of Versailles professed an earnest desire of peace; the Empress Queen proposed assembling a congress at Augsbourg, in which the belligerent powers might adjust their respective interests; ministers passed reciprocally between the courts of London and Versailles: but, amidst these fruitless negotiations, neither party remitted hostilities, and the confederacy formed against Prussia prepared to open and prosecute the ensuing campaign with renewed hope and redoubled energy.

The campaign
 1761,
 against the
 Swedes,
 Russians,
 and
 Saxons.

In the vast space to which the operations of so many armies extended, the assault grew more vigorous, and the resistance more feeble; but the mode of carrying on the war remained uniformly the same. Towards the shore of the Baltic, Pomerania, on the western side of the Oder, was ravaged by the Swedes; the eastern portion of that province was invaded by the Russians, who having defeated

feated the prince of Wirtemberg, took Colberg, CHAP. V.
 threatened Stettin, and alarmed Berlin itself. In
 Saxony prince Henry long defended his ground
 with great military skill against the troops of the
 Circles, as well as against the Austrians under
 count Daun. But irresistible superiority of num-
 bers enabling his enemies to occupy the most ad-
 vantageous posts, he was finally reduced to the
 necessity of fortifying his camp in the neighbour-
 hood of Petersberg, and confined to very narrow
 winter quarters.

The king in person undertook the defence of Frederick
 Silesia against the combined armies of the Aus- forms a
 trians and Russians, respectively commanded by camp of
 general Laudohn, and Messrs. Czernichef and But- singular
 terlin. To protect that important province, and strength
 near Bun-
 zelwitz in
 Silesia,
 more particularly to watch over the safety of July
 Schweidnitz, his chief magazine and principal re- 1761;
 source, Frederick fixed his camp near Bunzelwitz,
 and secured his position by intrenchments on his
 front and rear as well as on his flanks. This
 camp insensibly grew into the resemblance of a for-
 tified town, of which the mountain of Warben
 might be considered as the citadel. From that
 mountain to the village of Bunzelwitz, it was co-
 vered by a deep marsh; and the batteries of Bun-
 zelwitz and Jauernick, by a crossing fire, defended
 its

CHAP.

V.



its front against the Austrians. In the middle between, but a little behind, these villages, the infantry were secured by large redoutes, furnished with a numerous train of artillery. The right flank ran parallel to the river Striegau. A wood, containing a masked battery, covered the rear. The hills on both sides were guarded and intrenched; and in the works throughout, the entrenchments and the ditches were sixteen feet broad, and the latter twelve feet deep. The wide circumference was surrounded by a strong and intricate palisade; and the salient parts were provided with mines and traps, bordered all around with a deep line of almost contiguous chevaux de frize. The army consisted of 66 battalions and 143 squadrons; passages had been carefully prepared for allowing a free outlet to the cavalry; the different batteries contained 460 pieces of artillery; and 181 mines were ready to spring on the first signal.

in which
he defies
his com-
bined
enemies,
August
1761.

This singular camp, which art and nature thus conspired to fortify, was soon surrounded, as by a line of circumvallation, with the numerous divisions of the enemy, who seemed determined at every hazard to come to an engagement with the Prussians. But on whatever side they made their attacks, the resistance far surpassed their expectation. In day time, the strength of the camp dispelled

pelled every ground of fear; but every thing was
 to be feared in the night, on account of the prox-
 imity of the enemy. To provide against the danger
 of a nocturnal assault, the tents were struck every
 evening; and the soldiers slept in the open air on
 the margin of the intrenchments. By occupying
 the posts of Camerau and Schænbrunn, Mr. Lau-
 dohn interrupted the communication of the Prus-
 sians with Schweidnitz, from which alone they
 derived their forage and provisions. The king
 therefore sent an intermediate detachment to Jun-
 kendorf, which seized a post in that neighbour-
 hood, the right of which was protected by the
 batteries of the camp, and the left by the walls of
 Schweidnitz. Thus provided with the means
 both of subsistence and defence, Frederick from
 the heights of Warben not only defied his ene-
 mies, but detached Mr. Platen, under pretence of
 escorting a convoy from Breslaw, to destroy the
 Russian magazines on the frontiers of Poland; an
 enterprize which that general successfully executed.
 This measure hastened the retreat of Mr. Butterlin
 beyond the Oder; his associate Czernichef, who
 was at the head of 20,000 men, still remained
 with Mr. Laudohn; who thinking it dangerous
 longer to keep the place, retired to his former
 post at Kunzendorf among the mountains.

He de-
 stroys the
 Russian
 maga-
 zines,
 Septem-
 ber 17,
 1761.

Had

CHAP.

V.

Scarcity
of pro-
visions ob-
liges him
to remove
his camp
to the
neigh-
bourhood
of Mun-
sterberg,
Septem-
ber 29.

Had not the magazines of Schweidnitz, which so long supplied the army, been almost exhausted, the campaign might have terminated in Silesia without producing any memorable event; but the king must have been soon obliged to bring his supplies from Breslaw, from which place his convoys to the camp would have required an escort of at least 10,000 men. Since the departure of Mr. Platen, it would have been dangerous to weaken the army by making so large a detachment. These considerations determined his Majesty to raise his camp and move towards the Neisse, on the banks of which the army might subsist in plenty, and create such jealousy in the enemy respecting the county of Glatz and the marquisate of Moravia, as would make them quit the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz. With this view Frederick marched to Pulzen, from thence to Siegroth, and arrived the 29th at Nossen near to Munsterberg; where two days afterwards he was informed that Mr. Laudohn, by a coup de main, had made himself master of Schweidnitz.

Schweid-
nitz sur-
prised by
general
Laudohn,
Septem-
ber 30,
1761.

This event, which disconcerted all the king's measures, and gave the enemy a firm footing in Silesia, happened in the following manner. Among the prisoners confined in that place, and amounting to 500, there was a major Roca, an Italian and

and partisan, who had the address to gain such favour with the governor Mr. Zastrow, that the latter allowed Roca more liberty than a prisoner ought to enjoy, especially in a city surrounded by enemies. Roca had leisure to examine the works, knew the strength of the different guards, and remarked various negligences in the service of the garrison. Having conversed with the Austrian prisoners, and corrupted several of the townsmen, he informed Mr. Laudohn of all that he had seen, heard, or imagined, in order to enable that general to make himself master of the place. In consequence of his intrigues with Roca, Laudohn formed the plan of surprising Breslaw in the night of the 30th of September, by four different attacks against the two principal gates and the two principal fortresses. Mr. Zastrow, the governor, had passed that evening at a ball; but upon some unknown ground of suspicion, had distributed arms to the garrison, and posted guards on the works. He neglected however to instruct his officers in what manner they should conduct their defence; he omitted to send his cavalry to scour the country; he forgot even to throw fire-balls to brighten the obscurity of night, and unveil the assaults of his unknown invaders, who became masters of the place, without any other loss than what was occasioned by the accidental blowing up of a powder magazine in the fortress of Beckendorf.

Having

CHAP.

V.

Frederick's
dexterity
in pre-
venting
the nat-
ural con-
sequences
of that
misfor-
tune,
October.

With a
far infe-
rior force,
obliges his
enemies to
sleep eight
nights on
their
arms, No-
vember
1761.

The
troops
enter into
winter
quarters.

Having received the mortifying news of this disaster, the king marched to Strehlen, and from thence to an intrenched camp, which his foresight had seasonably fortified in the neighbourhood of Breslaw. He determined now to confine himself more rigorously than ever to the defensive; but to conceal this resolution, distributed ammunition for the fire-arms, commanded the bayonets to be furnished, the swords to be sharpened, and talked of nothing but vigorous exertions and bold enterprises. The Austrian spies, who were numerous and well known in the army, immediately escaped to communicate that important intelligence to their employers. The impression which they created in Mr. Laudohn exceeded the king's most sanguine hopes. Posterity will hardly credit that the Austrians and Russians, encamped on the heights of Kunzendorf, slept eight nights on their arms, expecting every moment to be attacked by an enemy greatly inferior in number, and exhausted by a long series of bloody encounters and unremitting fatigue. The inactivity of Mr. Laudohn, who closed his operations with the taking of Schweidnitz, saved the Prussians, and rendered that unexpected blow far less disastrous than there was reason to apprehend. The troops on all sides entered into winter quarters; the Prussians had been unfortunate in every country where they fought;

fought; and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick alone CHAP.
terminated this campaign against the marechals
Broglie and Soubise, without sustaining any loss.

Amidst the military misfortunes which threaten-
ed to overwhelm the scattered dominions of Fre-
derick, the revolutions of public affairs in Europe,
to which he had patiently looked forward, afford-
ed some glimpse of hope; and an event, which
his prudence had foreseen as probable, enabled
him finally to conclude this memorable war with
a degree of honour corresponding to the fortitude
with which he had carried it on. Soon after the
loss of Schweidnitz, his Majesty received an em-
bassy from the Khan of the Tartars. The ambaf-
sador was the Khan's barber; a circumstance which
cannot fail to shock the prejudices of those who
have been habituated to the ceremonial of Euro-
pean courts, yet consonant enough to the manners
of the East, where the distinctions of birth being
unknown, those men who approach the nearest to
the person of their master, are naturally honoured
with the principal share in his confidence. The
credentials of this ambassador, or barber, were
ridiculous enough, yet not more ridiculous than
the style of the chancery of the Holy Roman Em-
pire. He proposed an alliance between his master
and Frederick; offered the king a reinforcement,

Frede-
rick's ne-
gotiation
with the
Khan of
the Tar-
tars,

CHAP.

V.

and demanded from him a subsidy. The proposal was accepted; and the ambassador being loaded with presents both for himself and for the Khan, was accompanied in his return to Baciesarai by Mr. Goltz, who had orders strenuously to press the completion of the treaty. A body of 16,000 Tartars, added to a detachment of his own troops, would have enabled his Majesty to make a powerful diversion in Hungary. Mr. Boscamp, the king's agent at Baciesarai, was desired at the same time to urge the Khan to invade Russia; an undertaking of the greater importance, because, as soon as hostilities had commenced in that country, the Turks would have been obliged to support the Tartars.

and with
the
Turks.

The grand vizier, a man grown old in intrigue, dreaded war, because he knew not how to conduct it; and was averse to commit his well-established greatness to the vicissitudes of fortune. Firmly united with the Mufti, he opposed those members of the Divan who were desirous to retaliate the injuries of the House of Austria, representing, that as the term fixed for the continuance of the truce with the Empress had not yet expired, the law of Mahomet permitted not the commencement of hostilities. Yet, with a degree of inconsistency to which even deep politicians are some-

times

times liable, he assembled an army of 110,000 men in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and formed a very formidable cordon along the Austrian frontiers. The Khan likewise sent a new emissary to his Majesty, who instead of 16,000, promised to raise 40,000 men in the spring; but events, which soon afterwards happened in Russia, totally confounded the very limited understandings of the Turks and Tartars, and rendered their assistance to the king, which he had been at such pains to procure, extremely insignificant, and altogether unnecessary.

On the 5th of January 1762, the Empress Elizabeth, who had for several years past been in a languishing condition, died suddenly of a spitting of blood. By her demise, the empire devolved on the Great Duke, with whom, when he was only duke of Holstein, Frederick had entered into the most intimate correspondence, and bound to his friendship by good offices. The admiration of Peter III. for the character of Frederick was only surpassed by his gratitude towards that prince. He immediately recalled the troops under Mr. de Czer-nichef from the Austrian army; concluded a peace with Prussia, without demanding the smallest sacrifice on the part of that crown; soon afterwards entered into an alliance with Frederick;

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V.
Death of the Empress Elizabeth, makes a difference of 60,000 in favour of Frederick.

CHAP. and finally commanded Czernichef to join the
 V. Prussians in Silesia. From the success of the last
 campaign, the Austrian ministers so little doubted
 their recovering that province, that they had dis-
 banded 20,000 men. An unusual malady, whose
 symptoms resembled the leprosy, broke out among
 the troops which they still kept on foot. This
 disease thinned their camp, and peopled their hos-
 pitals. The number of those whom it destroyed
 cannot be ascertained with accuracy; but the un-
 seasonable disbanding of 20,000 Austrians, and
 the subsequent defection of 20,000 Russians, who
 joined the king's army, made, on the whole amount,
 a difference of 60,000 men in favour of his Ma-
 jesty; an advantage in point of numbers, greater
 than he could have expected from gaining three
 pitched battles.

Frede-
 rick's
 peace
 with
 Sweden,
 June
 1762.

The revolution in the politics of Russia obliged
 the Swedes to make peace. Frederick received a
 letter from his sister the queen of Sweden, dictated
 by the senate of Stockholm. It contained propo-
 sals of accommodation, to which his Majesty re-
 plied, that from regard to his sister, he was will-
 ing to forget the unjust proceedings of the Swedes.
 The plenipotentiaries of the two courts met at
 Hamburgh, and there concluded a treaty, by
 which the affairs of Pomerania were placed on
 their ancient footing.

The

CHAP.
V.Transac-
tions with
the Turks
and
Tartars.

The alliance with Russia, how advantageous soever in other respects, disconcerted the king's negotiations with the Turks and Tartars, who, accustomed to the stability of oriental politics, could not comprehend how Frederick, after urging them for many years to declare war against the court of St. Peterburgh, should now offer his good offices to accommodate all differences between them and that court. "You now desire us," they said, "to invade the dominions of the Empress Queen; but what assurance can we have, that in the course of a few months, you may not be equally solicitous to accommodate our differences with that princess? Caution requires, that we should distrust your overtures, lest, by embracing them too easily, we render ourselves the sport of your fickleness." Frederick answered these arguments by facts. At his desire, Peter III. removed all ground of jealousy in the Khan respecting the fortress St. Anne; and his Imperial majesty also made a formal declaration to the Porte, that should the Sultan invade the territories of Maria Theresa, that princess would not receive any assistance from Russia. These measures made a considerable impression both on the Sultan and on the Khan; and their favourable disposition towards Frederick might have ripened into effective aid, when a new revolution in Russia replunged them into astonishment and distrust.

The

CHAP.

V.

The fami-
ly com-
pact, De-
cember
1761;

The same winter which had given Frederick a powerful and zealous ally, stirred up against England a new and implacable adversary. By the famous family compact, the whole House of Bourbon, France, Spain, Naples, and Parma, were united in the strictest bonds of interest and amity. In carrying on the war, their respective losses and gains were to be considered as common to them all; and Spain was to invade the kingdom of Portugal, with which she had no ground of quarrel (except that Portugal was in alliance with England), in order to compensate, by the conquest of that territory, for the possessions which France had lost in America and the Indies.

which
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England,
and occa-
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rupture
between
that court
and Fre-
derick.

Alarmed by this formidable confederacy, the ministers of George III. had recourse to fruitless negotiations; and deceived by the fond hope of establishing a general peace, which could only be effected by the most vigorous exertions by sea and land, they secretly applied to Peter III. promising to enforce whatever terms he might think proper to exact from the king of Prussia, provided he kept his army in the field against that prince. Peter, whose character and views England had taken little pains to discover, answered this proposal in the strain of indignation that would have become a Prussian patriot, and immediately com-
municated

communicated to Frederick the dispatches of the Russian envoy at the court of London, in order to shew that prince the treachery of his English allies. Thus shamefully repulsed at St. Petersburg, the English ministry next applied to the court of Vienna, and offered the spoils of his Prussian majesty to Maria Theresa, with the same liberality that they had offered them to the Czar. But unfortunately for their machinations, prince Kaunitz mistook their drift; and suspecting that their sole aim was to embroil France and Austria, replied to their overtures with the pride and disdain of an Imperial minister, "that his mistress was sufficiently powerful to maintain her own pretensions, and would greatly descend from her dignity by accepting any peace of which England was the mediator." It is almost unnecessary to add, that the subsidy which had been hitherto paid to Frederick by Great Britain, was thenceforth withheld.

Notwithstanding what his Prussian majesty calls the defection and perfidy of his English allies, the fortunate revolution in Russia entitled him to form the project of an extensive and brilliant campaign. During the last season, he had been obliged to stand on his defence; but he now determined to send a strong detachment to Cosel in

Upper

CHAP.

V

The fall of
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Dag. De
cumber
1761

which
alarms
England
and over-
flows a
rupture
between
that court
and the

His plan
for the
campaign
1762.

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Upper Silesia, which might harass the frontiers of Moravia, and be ready to assist the Tartars in ravaging Hungary. By employing a detachment in that quarter, he would likewise oblige Mr. Daun, who was encamped on the heights of Kunzendorf with 70,000 (besides 10,000 which garrisoned Schweidnitz, and 8000 which guarded the gorges of Wartha and Silverberg), to weaken his great army to such a degree, that the Prussians would be enabled to turn all his posts, and either to bring him to an engagement, or compel him to retreat into Bohemia. After defeating or repelling mareschal Daun, the king might invest or assault Schweidnitz, and having recovered that place, and re-established his affairs in Silesia, he would then be at liberty to re-inforce prince Henry in Saxony, and to employ their united strength in regaining possession of Dresden.

Successful operations of the Prussians in Silesia, May and June 1762.

In the months of April and May, his forces moved from their respective quarters, and without being molested by the enemy, rendezvoused in the neighbourhood of Breslaw. They amounted to 66,000 soldiers. The expected reinforcement of Russians under Czernichef exceeded

20,000 men; so that after detaching Mr. Werner with twenty regiments to Cosel, the Prussians would still remain superior to the enemy. The prince

prince of Bevern and Mr. Märing soon followed CHAP.
 Mr. Wernier; and Mr. Daun detached general VI
 Beck with a great body of men to protect the frontiers of Hungary and Moravia; a measure which tended to facilitate the execution of the plan which his Majesty had formed. As the success of the Prussian operations depended on concealing their drift from the enemy, the king strengthened his detachments of cavalry to such a degree as gave them a decided superiority over the Austrians. The latter were defeated in every encounter, and so much intimidated by their repeated disasters, that they finally declined to go forth in small parties for discovery, and seldom ventured far beyond their grand guards. The Prussians were cantoned on both sides of the Lohe; their headquarters at Bettlern. Their advanced bodies of cavalry resembled a line of circumvallation around the Imperial camp at Domanz; the whole army could be assembled in six hours; Daun had two marches to perform, in order to advance to the Lohe; and his camp was yet so near to the Prussians, that none of his motions could escape their observation.

The king delayed to carry his main design into execution, till the arrival of the Russians under Czernichef, who passed the Oder the 20th of June, Frederick being joined by his Russian auxiliaries, and

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ditates a
great pro-
ject, June
1762.

and advanced that day to Lissa. Frederick had detached Mr. Wied beyond the river Schweidnitz under pretence of escorting the Russians, but chiefly with a design to turn Mr. Daun's left at Pittchenberg, and gain possession of the strong post at Kunzendorf, in the rear of the enemy. The mareschal, discerning this intention, decamped in the night, and posted himself on the mountains between Kunzendorf and Bægendorf. The king followed him closely, and resumed his ancient position at Bunzelwitz; and his light troops advanced within pistol-shot of the grand guard of the Imperialists. Mr. Reizenstein occupied the heights of Striegau, and covered Mr. Wied, who cantoned his troops in and around that village. By a series of well-concerted marches and manœuvres, Frederick gradually removed the Austrians from Schweidnitz, and obliged them to transport their great magazine from Braunau in Bohemia, to Sharfeneck in the county of Glatz. The Cossacks, who had accompanied Mr. Czernichef, carried devastation and terror to the gates of Prague, and if their desultory fury had not been restrained by avarice, which made them successively withdraw in eight days from Bohemia to sell their booty in Poland, Mr. Serbelloni, who commanded the Austrians in Saxony, must have quitted that electorate with his army, in order to put an

end

end to the cruel ravages of those merciless barbarians, who marked their path in Bohemia with lines of fire and blood. The king, meanwhile, prepared to dislodge the Austrians from Buckerdsdorf and Leutmendsdorf, which would have effectually cut off their communication with Schweidnitz. But this design, which the assistance of the Russians rendered easy of execution, became almost impracticable through one of those events which confound the projects of human wisdom.

Peter III. had hardly mounted the throne of Russia, when he began to introduce important innovations in the internal government of that empire. According to the system of Peter I. he set himself to oppose the exorbitant pretensions of the clergy, and ventured to appropriate their possessions; but unfortunately for the success of this plan, the Russians felt nothing of that respect for Peter III. which had been excited by the public virtues of his illustrious predecessor. Domineered by the terrors of superstition, they valued their priests more than their princes; and the priests domineered by the passion which usually enslaves their order, valued their revenues more than the opinions which they taught. To this cause of disgust, Peter added the imprudence of introducing too hastily the rigours of German discipline

Causes of
a new re-
volution in
Russia;

cipline into the Ismailof and Preobrazinsky guards, those licentious and haughty pretorians, who, as they surrounded the throne, thought themselves entitled to the peculiar indulgence of the sovereign. Not satisfied with these dangerous measures (salutary indeed in their principle but highly unseasonable at that juncture), Peter determined to make war against Denmark, the hereditary foe of his ancestors the dukes of Holstein, but with whom the Russians had not any cause of quarrel. These grievances laid the foundation for a conspiracy against his life, which threatened him for several months, before it finally overwhelmed him.

which
Frederick
endea-
vours to
prevent.

His Prussian Majesty, moved by friendship and gratitude towards this amiable but ill-advised prince, ventured, in the most delicate manner, to warn him of his danger. Peter answered his letter in the following terms: "My glory requires that I should punish the Danes for the injuries which they have done myself and my ancestors. With regard to my personal safety, there is not any reason to be alarmed. The soldiers call me their father, and say that they like better to be governed by a man than by a woman. I walk the streets of Petersburg on foot, and alone: I do good to all my subjects, trust in God, and fear nothing."

nothing." This answer did not hinder the king from renewing the same advice, by means of his agents, Messrs. Golz and Schwerin, until Peter one day intreated them to have done, and never again to mention a subject which was altogether odious to him.

CHAP. C

This fatal security precipitated the measures of his enemies. At the moment when Frederick most needed the assistance of his new allies, Mr. Czernichef came to tell him that Peter III. had been dethroned by his spouse, and that he himself had been ordered to withdraw his troops from the Prussian army, and to retire towards Poland.

Peter III. dethroned, and the Russian troops commanded to quit Frederick's camp, July 1762.

The news from Prussia and Pomerania soon confirmed those events in a manner the most alarming. The Empress Catherine had seized the kingdom of Prussia, and appropriated its revenues. An edict appeared in which Frederick was treated as the hereditary and irreconcilable enemy of Russia; and orders had been sent to the Russian generals on the frontiers, to hold themselves in readiness for recommencing hostilities against that prince. These violent steps had been taken by Catharine, on a supposition that his Prussian majesty, being apprised of the detention of Peter III. would compel Czernichef to declare in favour of that unfortunate monarch; and in case of refusal, would either

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either retain or disarm the forces which he commanded. But Frederick, instead of embracing any such measures, made not the smallest opposition to Czernichef's departure; the only favour that he asked was to defer it three days, to which request that general readily consented.

Frederick's admirable address in profiting of the stay of the Russians for recovering possession of Silesia, September 1762.

These three days were precious. The Austrian generals were still unacquainted with the revolution in Russia. His Majesty therefore availed himself of the respect inspired by the allies, who were ready to become his enemies, for turning Mr. Daun's camp, and for obliging him to retire from Dilmansdorf to Wasten Waltersdorf on the Eule. This operation paved the way for the siege of Schweidnitz; and it is worthy of observation, that the same day on which the Austrians removed from the neighbourhood of that place, the Russians, whose continuance with the king had no small influence in occasioning their retreat, retired themselves towards the Polish frontiers. An army of twenty-four battalions and thirty squadrons, destined for carrying on the siege of Schweidnitz, assembled at the foot of the mountains of Kunzendorf. To cover the siege, the king still needed a powerful reinforcement; he therefore recalled the detachments from Upper Silesia and Moravia, which could not be employed there

or

or in Hungary with much effect, because the sudden revolutions in Russia had so much perplexed the ignorance of the Tartars, that no assistance was to be expected from them in making a diversion on that side. Having defeated Mr. Daun's attempts for succouring Schweidnitz, and obliged him by the judicious disposition of the Prussian posts to remain inactive at Scharfenec, his Majesty sat down before that strong city the 20th September. Mr. Gualco the governor soon craved leave to capitulate, which the king refused, because the preceding year Mr. Laudohn had said in a letter respecting the exchange of prisoners, that the Empress Queen thought herself dispensed from fulfilling any engagement with the king of Prussia. Frederick, besides, was unwilling to allow 10,000 men to escape from a place which he was sure of taking soon, because their provisions had already become scarce, and most of their batteries were dismounted. A bomb, which blew up a powder magazine in the fort of Jauernick, hastened the surrender of Schweidnitz. The garrison was sent into Prussia; the prince of Bevern was entrusted with the command in Silesia; and the king, having thus recovered that valuable province, prepared to march into Saxony, in order to co-operate with his brother prince Henry.

Before

CHAR. Before his Majesty's arrival in that electorate,
V. the fortune of the campaign was already decided.

Prince
Henry's
successes
in Saxony,
October
1762.

Prince Henry, by a singular and happy mixture of prudence and boldness, had generally prevailed over the superior numbers of the Austrians and troops of the Circles, respectively commanded by Mr. Serbelloni and the prince of Stolberg. The former was recalled with disgrace; and Mr. Had-
dick succeeded to the command with no better fortune, since, soon after his appointment, his allies were defeated in the battle of Freyberg, the 29th of October, with the loss of 8000 men, and he himself was obliged to retreat.

Frede-
rick's
boldness
intimi-
dates all
his ene-
mies.

Not satisfied with recovering his conquests in Saxony and Silesia, the king, who had by this time arrived at Meissen, and who knew that the best expedient for procuring an honourable peace, was to prosecute the war with undiminished vi-
gour, sent detachments to ravage the frontiers of Bohemia. Other detachments invaded the terri-
tories of the empire, took Bamberg, threatened Nurenburgh, and spread terror to the gates of Ratisbon. The diet was disturbed in its delibera-
tions; several deputies fled; the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, as well as the bishops of Bam-
berg and Wurzburg, craved peace, and promis-
ed

ed to withdraw their troops from the army of the CHAP. V.
Circles.

During these bold and successful operations of Prince Ferdinand triumphs over the marshals Soubise and D'Etrees, who, instead of conquering the electorate of Hainover, were driven from the landgraviate of Hesse. But Frederick had little reason to rejoice at the prosperity of his English confederates, who, in their negotiations carrying forward for peace, so totally abandoned all concern for his interest, that they consented to allow the French to retain possession of the dutchy of Cleves and the principality of Guelderland.

The preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris Augustus III. king of Poland sends to Maria Theresa and himself. between France and England, the 3d November 1762; and the Prussian troops had scarcely begun to enter into their cantonments, when Mr. Fritsch, who was counsellor to the king of Poland, arrived at Meissen, Frederick's head quarters. As Fritsch possessed lands in that neighbourhood, his arrival did not excite much attention. Having obtained an audience of his Majesty, he began to expatiate on the advantages of peace and the inconveniences

CHAP. V. of war; and, after exhausting these common topics, expressed his happiness in thinking that the prospect of peace was not very remote; and that he himself had been intrusted with a very important commission; which he only delayed to explain, until he was sure that it would be favourably received. Frederick replied, that it depended not on himself to terminate the troubles of Germany, but on those who first excited, and who had hitherto fomented them; and whose implacable animosity seemed to strengthen by resistance, and harden by opposition. Mr. Fritsch then presented to the king a letter from Augustus III. signifying his sincere desire of peace, and his zealous endeavours to promote it. "He had founded the intentions of the Empress Queen, and found her favourably disposed to that measure. The concurrence of his Prussian Majesty, therefore, was alone wanting to conclude the salutary work which they had so much at heart."

Frederick's reasons for believing that the Empress was sincere.

After reading this letter, Frederick observed, that as it was usual for powers at war to negotiate peace at the same time with their allies, he could hardly believe that her Imperial Majesty was sincere. Yet, that he might never have any reason for self-reproach, he was willing to prevent the renewal of hostilities, by desisting from his just demands

demands of indemnification for the cruelties and ravages committed in his dominions, provided that his enemies agreed to follow this example of moderation; but that he was firmly determined not to lose, by a stroke of the pen, what he had hitherto defended by the sword, and what he was still able to defend more vigorously than ever. To convince Frederick of the sincerity of the Empress, Mr. Fritsch acquainted his Majesty with a piece of intelligence that had been communicated to Augustus III. by Mr. Saul, a Saxon agent at the court of Vienna. That agent, it was said, had been assured by prince Kaunitz, that the Empress was so desirous of terminating the war, that she had already applied to Frederick for that purpose, through the mediation of the courts both of France and England; and had been justified in re-commencing hostilities by his refusal, on both occasions, to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation. These assertions were totally false; and although the king could not have any confidence in a negotiation begun by a lie, the situation of affairs inclined him to believe what the preposterous conduct of his enemies would have made him reject with scorn. The terror of the princes of the empire, the defection of the Swedes and Russians, an hundred thousand Turks, who covered the frontiers of Hungary—these

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were arguments fitted to inspire Maria Theresa with the desire of peace. The internal state of her dominions suggested motives conspiring to the same end, and not less cogent. The discouragement produced by the disasters of the last campaign; the difficulty of raising money for the expence of the war, misunderstandings between her generals, disgusts among her ministers, the declining health of the emperor, dissensions in his family, and perhaps this problem, whether, after failing to crush the king of Prussia, with the assistance of a numerous confederacy, she was likely to accomplish that undertaking when deserted by all her allies. The city of Dresden was ill provided; the magazines of Bohemia were empty; in the ensuing campaign, Dresden would probably be taken, and Bohemia would probably be rendered the theatre of war. These considerations having convinced his Prussian Majesty that in their application for peace his enemies were sincere, he dispatched Mr. Fritsch with a favourable answer; and patiently waiting the event of this negotiation, departed from Meissen to visit the cordon of troops which he had established along the frontiers of Bohemia and the Empire; and then returned towards Leipzig, where he took up his winter quarters.

His

His Majesty had not remained many days in that city, when Mr. Fritsch returned with the answer of the court of Vienna, couched in the enigmatical obscurity and emphatic haughtiness of Prince Kaunitz, but copiously explained by a long letter of count Flemming, the Saxon minister at the Imperial court. On the 1st of December a congress was held at Hubertsbourg in Saxony, for settling the terms of peace; and with a view to maintain perfect equality between the contracting powers, that town was declared neutral, together with its dependent district. Mr. Collenbach acted as Austrian plenipotentiary; and the learned and virtuous count Herzberg represented the king of Prussia. The former condescended to make the first proposals in the name of the Empress Queen; and as many of his clauses were extremely captious, Frederick, who always directed the proceedings of his ministers, enjoyed an opportunity of proving that his address in negotiation equalled his abilities in war. An event happened which much facilitated his success. From motives of œconomy, the British ministers disbanded a body of 3000 light troops, who had served under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Frederick took these men into his pay, reinforced them with Bauer's dragoons, and Brunswick volunteers; and the whole detachment, exceeding

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Frederick
dictates
the terms
of the
peace of
Hubertsbourg in
Saxony,
concluded
February
15, 1763.

CHAP. V. 5000 soldiers, had orders to move towards the frontiers of the dutchy of Cleves. This measure caused an agitation as violent as it was extensive. The French trembled for Flanders and Brabant; the Austrians sent 10,000 men to the banks of the Rhine; the council of Hanover, who knew the disgusts between Frederick and George III. suspected that the former prince meant to invade their electorate; and the court of England, supposing that the Prussians intended to seize Munster, doubled the garrison of that city, and prohibited, under severe penalties, the subjects of his Prussian Majesty from entering within its walls. By means of the duke of Nivernois, the French negotiated with England a treaty of neutrality for Flanders; and in return for the guarantee of their dominions in that country, promised to resign the places belonging to his Prussian Majesty, which had been conquered from his allies. Thus the movement of a small body of troops, by which Frederick meant only to surprise the garrison of Wesel, diffused a general alarm through Europe, and insured the speedy conclusion of an advantageous and honourable peace. An amnesty of past hostilities, the renewal of the treaty of Westphalia, and a complete restitution of all the places and prisoners taken during the war, formed the broad and solid basis of the peace of Hubertsbourg; by which

which the king of Poland was the greatest gainer, since he thereby recovered possession of his electorate of Saxony.

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Thus ended the septennial war, which had cost Prussia 180,000 men; Austria and Russia an equal number. France and England respectively a still greater number. In this long and unequal conflict, Prussia had resisted the three great military powers of Europe, France, Austria, and Russia, reinforced by the troops of the Circles, of Saxony, and of Sweden. The success of this seemingly impracticable undertaking, in which had Frederick failed, his name would have been numbered with the wildest names in Romance, was facilitated by the following circumstances; the timid and interested caution of the Austrian generals, who, while they spared their own troops, disgusted their allies by continually exposing them to enterprises of difficulty and posts of danger; the seasonable demise of the Empress Elizabeth, which converted Russia from an implacable enemy into an useful auxiliary; the patriotic zeal of the Prussian subjects, and the disciplined bravery of the Prussian troops; above all, the king's incomparable conduct and invincible courage, his cool combination and ardent execution.

Causes of
Frederick's success in this unequal warfare.

Towards

CHAP.

W

How its
expence
was de-
frayed

Towards defraying the expences of this memorable war, Frederick derived only four millions of crowns annually, from provinces conquered or exhausted by the first invasions of his multiplied enemies. The yearly subsidies granted him by England, originally four millions of crowns, were afterwards doubled. The contributions raised on Saxony exceeded six millions; and these expedients for raising money, which his Majesty declares highly repugnant to his sentiments and extremely derogatory to his honour, were followed by others still more blamable; and which nothing but "the great law of saving the state," a law which in his opinion silenced every other, could have persuaded him to adopt. His mint was let in farm with permission to diminish the value of the specie by one half. This contrivance produced seven millions of crowns; at the same time that all pensions and emoluments arising from the civil list, were diverted from their ordinary purpose, and employed as a military fund. The aggregate of these sums, amounting to about four millions sterling of bad specie, sufficed, under Frederick's management, for defending the Prussian monarchy against the most powerful confederacy ever formed in Europe.

At

At the conclusion of the war, that provident prince had one year's revenue in his treasury. Austria had borrowed 100,000,000 of crowns. England was half ruined by its victories; and France, in which the pilfering arts of the financier have assumed the pomp of science, stopped payment of the interest of its enormous debts, and prolonged for the term of ten years its oppressive and arbitrary taxes. Upon the first cessation of hostilities, the reserved wealth of his Prussian Majesty was most seasonably employed in healing the wounds of the state. Corn, horses, and the instruments of agriculture, were distributed among his distressed peasants. Besides these well-chosen donatives, which extended to all universally, Silesia received in money 3,000,000 of crowns, Pomerania 1,400,000, Prussia 800,000, Brandenburg 700,000; and the dutchy of Cleves 100,000. In the remaining provinces of the monarchy, the taxes were lowered by one half. These liberal and well-timed encouragements revived the spirits of his Majesty's subjects, and being accompanied by some peculiar circumstances, which shall be explained in the following chapter, excited such vigorous exertions of productive industry, that the calamities of seven successive campaigns were completely repaired, and even speedily forgotten.

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His discerning bounty speedily repairs the calamities of seven successive campaigns.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

Domestic improvements from 1763 to 1779. Death of the king of Poland, and state of that country. Politics of Russia. State of Europe. Saldern's negotiation. Convention between Prussia and Russia for supporting the Polish dissidents. Frederick's interview with the Emperor Joseph. War between the Turks and Russians. The treaty of partition, to which Frederick's dexterity makes Austria accede. Revolution in Sweden. Frederick prevents a war between that country and Denmark. State of the latter kingdom. The division of Poland. Peace concluded between the Turks and Russians. Settlement of Poland. Improvements made by Frederick in his new acquisition.

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Frederick discharges the public debts, and improves his revenues, 1763 and 1764.

IN the septennial war, the most memorable in modern history, Frederick had often experienced that boldness is the greatest prudence; and during the long peace which followed, his government illustrated a truth not less important, that, in national concerns, generosity is the best œconomy. In the first year of peace, the bad money was re-coined; the national creditors were satisfied; thirty thousand soldiers were restored to agriculture;

ture; industry was revived; and the revenue was again rendered productive by employing Frenchmen in that department. But Frederick, while he availed himself of their experience, effectually prevented their tyranny. The public resources continued subject to his own administration, and were not let in farm, which is the practice in France; and of all practices the most oppressive, as financiers in that kingdom are of all men the most odious.

With an increasing income, that great prince continued to live with the simplicity of a private gentleman. The money raised from the public was employed to enrich or adorn the community; to rebuild ruined towns, to improve waste lands, to settle new colonies, to introduce new manufactures, to intersect his dominions by navigable canals, wherever that was practicable, and particularly by cutting the great canal of Bromberg, which joins the Vistula to the Oder. For such salutary purposes, Frederick continued annually to disburse the sum of near 400,000 pounds sterling. Within ten years after the peace of Hubertsbourg, he had introduced two hundred and sixty-four new manufactures; and disdaining the prejudices entertained by the Germans against paper-money, he advanced 800,000 crowns to establish a bank at

CHAP.
VLIntro-
duces new
manufac-
tures, and
establishes
a bank.CHAP.
IV

CHAP. at Berlin, which answered the double purpose
 VII of circulation and deposit. Formerly, the pro-
 perty of minors had been entrusted to the courts
 of justice, which obliged them to pay one *per cent.*
 for taking care of their property; but the
 bank, on the contrary, allowed them three *per cent.*
 interest, by which means they benefited four *per cent.*
 on the amount of their capitals.

Remune- During the long course of an unequal warfare,
 rates the patriotic zeal of the Prussians had resisted
 those who the patriotic zeal of the Prussians had resisted
 had suffer- foreign domination with the most pertinacious ob-
 ed by ex- stinacy; and to Frederick it seemed reasonable
 erting them- and just, that upon the return of peace, the places
 selves in the which had suffered the most in the public cause,
 the public should also be particularly remunerated. To re-
 cause. ward their exemplary fidelity, Landshtut received
 200,000 crowns; Striegau 40,000; Hall 40,000;
 Crossen 24,000; Halberstadt 40,000; Minden
 20,000; Bielefeld 15,000; and the villages of
 Hohenstein 13,000 crowns. By these liberal en-
 couragements, and his unexampled attention to
 an object which we proceed next to explain, Fre-
 derick's enlightened policy repaired in a few years
 evils similar to those which the ambition of Charles
 XII. and Lewis XIV. occasioned to their respec-
 tive kingdoms, and which, as no Frederick has
 yet

yet arisen in those countries, both France and Sweden still feel and lament.

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Though his Majesty well knew that productive industry forms the wealth of a country, he was far from imagining those trades always the best, which produce the most money. It was not the work done, but the advantage, which, in doing it, resulted to the body and mind of the workman, that chiefly engrossed his attention. In this respect, he perceived that great differences obtained in populousness and prosperity, according to the various employments of agriculture and manufactures; and that even in agriculture, greater exertions and purer manners might be expected from men who cultivate corn, than from those who cultivate the vine; and that in manufactures, the hardy workmen in wood and metal supplied very different citizens and very different soldiers, from those furnished by the mechanical operations of sedentary drudgery. In the modern systems of political oeconomy, the short-sightedness of avarice regards nothing but the labour effected; and whether it be effected by machines, or by men little better than machines, appears a matter of small moment. But Frederick having provided amply for the subsistence and defence of his subjects,

His enlightened principles of political oeconomy.

thought

CHAP. thought he had yet done nothing for their happiness, unless he improved their physical and moral state; procured them rational enjoyments, trained them to virtuous habits, and directed them to useful and honourable pursuits. His successful attention to those important concerns, an attention unexampled in modern times, we shall have occasion fully to explain, in analysing that complicated system of national prosperity, which was not completely established in his kingdom, till towards the æra of his demise; confining ourselves at present to his rural œconomy and his army, objects which attained the utmost perfection of which they are susceptible, in the period which elapsed between the peace of Hubertibourg and the partition of Poland.

Improvements in agriculture,
1764—
1771.

In imitation of the great conquerors and civilizers of Europe, Frederick borrowed from neighbouring nations the institutions in which they respectively excelled. In rural œconomy, England, of course, formed his principal model; and when he divided the extensive commons in Prussia and Pomerania, he thought that a German prince who followed the example of a British parliament, could not be accused of despotism. Yet this accusation was made and repeated, until the benefits of his regulations began to be sensibly felt by those who had most loudly condemned them. In

Silesia,

Silesia, the nobles having gradually purchased the lands of their vassals, many peasants left their country, and those who remained, felt but little attachment to a province in which they enjoyed not any property. Alarmed by this circumstance, Frederick assembled the nobles, explained to them their true interest, and convinced them that lands are valuable in proportion to the labour of those who cultivate them, and the wealth of those who consume their fruits. The Silesian nobles yielded to his arguments and authority; the peasants were re-established in their hereditary possessions; and in return for their readiness in consenting to this measure, which greatly benefited Silesia, Frederick advanced 300,000 crowns towards defraying the debts of the nobility, which had been contracted before and during the war; and the courts of justice allowed them a respite of two years from the importunity of their creditors. But this last measure being found by experience totally subversive of their credit, Frederick assembled the whole order of nobles, who engaged their united security for the payment of these debts, amounting to twenty-five millions of crowns. As specie was wanting to liquidate this vast sum, his Majesty created twenty millions of paper money; and having paid in specie, from his private treasury, such claims as were most urgent, thus saved

CHAP.
VI.New distribution
of landed
property.Pays the
debts of
his nobles,

four

CHAP. VI. four hundred families of distinction from ignominy and indigence. In Pomerania, and the new march of Brandenburg, the same discerning generosity produced the same salutary effects. Towards liquidating the debts of the nobles in those provinces, Frederick advanced five hundred thousand crowns; and bestowed an equal sum towards enabling them to improve their lands to the best advantage.

Regulations respecting the forests.

It was not in those great operations alone that Frederick distinguished his vigilance. A prince, he observes, ought to resemble the lance of Achilles, which cured the wounds that it inflicted; and the losses, which the war had occasioned, whether great or small, he thought it his duty to repair. Amidst the calamities of seven successive campaigns, the forests had been ruined by the depredations of the enemy, and sometimes by the rapacity of the foresters, who, in concert with inferior officers of the revenue, cut down and sold the trees for their own profit. To remedy this evil, peculiarly alarming in northern countries, where the cheapness of fuel is essentially requisite to national prosperity, Frederick issued strict and effectual orders, which he took care should be scrupulously executed. A duty likewise was imposed on all foreign timber that floated down the Elbe and the Oder, by which means the Prussians

thus

Y

obtained

obtained this article at an easy price from Poland, CHAB.
Bohemia, and Saxony; and while they allowed MI.
their own woods time to grow, not only supplied
themselves abundantly for immediate use, but
sold great quantities of timber to the commercial
cities both on the Baltic and on the ocean.

In the Prussian dominions, the king possessed New
in *demesne*, almost a third part of his whole terri- modes of
tory. The most valuable portion of the revenues improving
arose from the rents of these royal lands, termed the soil.
bailiwicks; which his Majesty began to divide
into small hereditary farms, as more conducive to
the strength of his kingdom, and the happiness of
his subjects; and while he thus improved the dis-
tribution of his domains, he was equally attentive
to improve the soil. Brandenburg abounded
with sandy hillocks, unmixed with loam, destitute
of moisture, and long condemned to invincible
barrenness. An English farmer undertook to
cultivate this seemingly ungrateful subject. His
first experiments were made with the crown lands.
He planted them with turnips, which being allow-
ed to rot on the ground, furnished a vegetable
mould sufficient for the nourishment of trefoil,
lucerne, and other kinds of grass, till then unknown
in Germany. The unexpected success of his un-
dertaking rendered the same practice universal;

CHAP. VI. and the quantity of cattle was thus augmented by one-third at least, on almost every farm.

Recruits
his army.

These multiplied objects could not engross Frederick's capacious mind, in which, the army, that engine of defence, and instrument of glory, still occupied its due place. Seventeen pitched battles, and almost as many encounters equally bloody; three cities besieged, and five defended; 1500 officers killed in battle; the hospitals crowded with the sick and wounded—had reduced the regiments of infantry to about an hundred men in each regiment. The great destruction of officers obliged his Majesty to be less delicate than usual in their appointment; and many persons of ignoble extraction were honoured with commissions. But of this measure the king soon discovered the inconvenience; “for though distinguished abilities (he observes) obliterate the distinctions of rank, and illustrious genius towers above the exaltation of princes, yet, in general, men of noble birth are more universally governed by the principle of honour, and therefore better officers, because, if they lose their honour, they lose their all, and would no longer find a refuge even in the family-mansion; whereas the son of a tradesman, after incurring the displeasure of his superiors, and

the contempt of his equals, returns without loss, and almost without disgrace, to the profession of his father." Before the year 1770, the regiments destined for field service were purified from these plebeian officers, who either retired on pensions, or went to serve in garrisons.

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To produce uniformity and precision in the movements of men who might be soon called to act together, the different battalions, as well as squadrons, were grouped under general inspections; and all of them were regularly assembled in the spring and autumn, to be harmonized to those great manœuvres which decide the fortune of battles. Rules alone cannot create genius; but they may prevent dangerous errors. For this latter purpose, his Majesty composed a treatise of tactics, comprising in a narrow compass the precepts of offensive and defensive war. Manuscript copies of this treatise were deposited with the inspectors, and by them communicated, under the seal of secrecy, to the commanders of regiments and squadrons; and the air of mystery with which this valuable little work, which explains with great perspicuity the principal dispositions relative to local circumstances, circulated from one hand to another, awakened curiosity for its contents, and strongly impressed them on the mind.

His treatise on tactics.

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The
amount
of his
military
strength.

In the course of eight years, the fortified places in Silesia and Pomerania were repaired and strengthened at the expence of 5,000,000 of crowns. These fortresses, as well as the city of Magdebourg, were stored with small arms and artillery, and provided with magazines of corn, sufficient to maintain for a year two armies, each of 70,000 men. When a war appeared inevitable, these armies were afterwards augmented to 200,000 combatants; a number great indeed: but the Prussian soldiers were citizens; they cultivated the ground, they married wives, they reared children; and, attached by the most endearing ties to their respective districts, fought for their own homes as well as for the greatness of their monarch: And this vast military establishment, expensive as it was, seemed necessary to Frederick in the actual state of Europe, both for defending his dominions, and for enabling him to profit of the first opportunity to extend them.

Death of
the king
of Poland,
and state
of that
kingdom,
1763.

This opportunity soon occurred. On the 4th of October 1763, died Augustus III. king of Poland. His son, who thus became elector of Saxony, soon followed his father to the tomb; and the grandson of Augustus, who now succeeded to his hereditary dominions, was still a minor, and could not form any pretension to his elective kingdom of Poland.

The

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The character of the Poles, and the unsettled nature of their government, had long rendered their fertile country a tempting prize to the ambition of their neighbours; but Prussia was weak; Russia was barbarous; and the House of Austria was almost constantly involved in war with the Turks on one side, or the French on the other. The condition of neighbouring states had improved; that of the Poles seemed continually to degenerate. Wedded to their old feudal aristocracy, the nobles were still hostile to their prince, and still implacable enemies to each other, agreeing in no one particular but that of universally treating their peasants rather like beasts than men. Barbarous laws were irregularly executed; government enjoyed scarcely any degree of coercive authority; and the character of the nation, if such capricious inconsistency can be called *character*, was vain, frivolous, voluptuous; a mixture of profligacy and superstition; immoderately rapacious and extravagantly prodigal. Amidst disordered scenes of vice and folly, the crossier and the distaff could not fail to be busy. Priests caballed, women intrigued, the peasants believed and trembled, the nobles rioted and quarrelled; and the tumultuous anarchy of the Poles, which shook the community with incessant storms, threatened to rend it in pieces at the election of every new king.

In

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VI.Politics
of the
Empress
Catha-
rine.

In this election, the neighbouring powers, and particularly Russia, which, since the downfall of Sweden, affected to hold the balance of the North, continually interfered; and the Empress Catharine, whose ambition yielded to that of none of her predecessors, and who is distinguished above all princesses for the extraordinary measure of her royal and female gratitude, resolved to set a Piast on the Polish throne, and determined, that the Piast, so honourably distinguished, should be her favourite Poniatowsky. In order to insure the success of this project, she stood in need of Frederick's assistance, which the situation of that prince with respect to foreign powers rendered him extremely ready to afford,

State of
Europe,
1764.

Since the peace of Hubertsbourg, Prussia was destitute of allies. The circumstances attending that transaction, which we have already had occasion to explain, had converted the friendship of the court of London into irreconcilable enmity. The Saxons felt the animosity of ancient rivalry inflamed by recent hostility, and embittered by the remembrance of committing unsuccessful crimes. Denmark and Sweden were not of any account in the affairs of Europe. Austria had made peace from necessity; and her pacific professions could not be trusted any longer than that necessity prevailed.

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vailed. The alliance of the *great powers* still subsisted in its original firmness; and might be supposed to remain in force, as long as its author, prince Kaunitz, who fondled it with paternal tenderness, governed the court of Vienna, and Mr. de Choiseul, who had adopted the same system from his natural partiality to the House of Austria, reigned under the name of Minister at Versailles.

Moved by these considerations, Frederick had lost no time in endeavouring to negotiate an alliance with Russia, whose hostility had greatly distressed him in the preceding war; and for facilitating that measure he immediately sent instructions to his ambassador at Warsaw to co-operate in the most efficacious manner with the ministers of the Empress Catharine. This seasonable assistance in a design which her Imperial Majesty had greatly at heart, hastened the conclusion of the treaty of St. Petersburg; which guaranteed the respective possessions of the contracting parties; and stipulated a mutual assistance of twelve thousand men for protecting the Polish dissidents, whether protestants or members of the Greek church, and for raising Poniatowsky, Stolic of Lithuania, to the Polish throne. The Prussian troops already hovered on the frontiers of that kingdom; and a body of 10,000 Russians advanced to the neighbourhood

Frederick enters into a treaty with Russia, and co-operates with that power in creating a king of Poland; 1764.
March 1764.

CHAP. VI. **bourhood of Warsaw.** The diet assembled in May, and assumed the name of a *Confederacy*, in order to render ineffectual the *Nie nos vallum*, or *Liberum Veto*, by which absurd regulation a single dissentient vote is entitled to obstruct the resolves of the nation. A new confederacy assembled in August; Stanislaus Poniatowsky was declared king by a majority of voices, and soon afterwards acknowledged as such by all the powers of Europe.

September 7,
1764.

Saldern's
negotia-
tion,
1765.

In the following year, Catharine began to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the king of Poland, and still more with that of his uncles, the princes Czartorinsky, by whom he was governed. These ambitious princes hoped entirely to annul the *Liberum Veto*; which abolition, considering their great influence in the diet, might have rendered the throne hereditary in their family; a revolution desirable indeed to Poland, but extremely alarming to such powers as expected to profit by the weakness of that kingdom. To remonstrate with the brothers Czartorinsky, and to watch their designs, Catharine sent to Warsaw Mr. Saldern, a minister vigilant, but haughty, who was deficient in address, and who wanted manners. In returning from Warsaw, Saldern came to Berlin, entrusted with great projects, formed by count Panin, whose taste delighted in whatever is magnificent and splendid. Assum-

ing

ing the tone of a Roman dictator, the Russian CHAP. VI
 envoy required Frederick's consent to the accession
 of England, Denmark, Sweden, and Saxony, to the
 treaty of St. Peterburgh; to this proposal his Prus-
 sian Majesty could not by any means agree. The
 treatment which he had recently received from Eng-
 land, made him unwilling to renew his connections
 with that court. Denmark, Sweden, and Saxony,
 could not afford any material assistance towards the
 design which he meditated; and whatever assistance
 they might afford, must be purchased by subsidies.
 Frederick, besides, was unwilling that the ascen-
 dancy which he expected to acquire over the coun-
 cils of Russia, should be lessened or divided by the
 influence of other courts. He therefore peremp-
 torily rejected Mr. Saldern's propositions; and
 when that minister, believing himself the Prætor
 Popilius, took fire, and expressed himself with
 undue warmth, Frederick, who was not born to
 act the part of Antiochus, dismissed him with cold
 indifference, declaring that he was inclined to be a
 friend to the Russians, but that he never would con-
 sent to become their slave.

The insolence of a pragmatical envoy occasion- Origin of
 ed not any rupture between Frederick and the troubles in Po
 Empress Catharine, who being closely united by land,
 interest, prepared for executing the vast projects 1765.
 which

CHAP. VI. which they secretly entertained. Catharine having declared herself the protectress of the Polish diffidents, insisted that they should not only enjoy the free exercise of their religion, but acquire a title in common with their fellow-citizens, to hold the principal offices of state. At the same time, the Prussian minister presented a memorial to the diet, insinuating that his master could not with indifference behold the abolition of the *Libellum Veto*, the introduction of new taxes, and the augmentation of the army of the crown. To Frederick's representations, the Poles paid due deference; but the demands of the diffidents met with a very different reception. The stupid enthusiasm of the populace was excited by the insidious artifices of their bishops, in whose dioceses one half of the inhabitants were diffidents, whom these interested priests hoped to convert, in order to double their tithes. Catharine determined to maintain the cause of toleration by an armed force; and Frederick was invited to co-operate towards this design; to which indeed he was already bound by virtue of the treaty of alliance.

Frederick
proposes
an inter-
view with
the Em-
peror Jo-
seph,
1766;

Meanwhile, the Emperor Francis I. died at Inspruck in 1765, and was succeeded by his son Joseph, who had the preceding year been crowned king of the Romans. Soon after his accession,

sion, that young prince undertook a journey to CHAP. VI
 Bohemia, to examine the principal scenes of the
 septennial war. As he passed through Torgau,
 Frederick, who perceived how much his interfe-
 rence might affect the projects in agitation, made
 to him the overture of an interview; a measure
 strongly opposed by Maria Theresa and prince
 Kaunitz. The Emperor felt uneasiness at their
 refusal, and took care to insinuate to his Prussian
 Majesty, that he would soon contrive some expe-
 dient for repairing the impropriety in point of
 good-breeding, which his pedagogues compelled
 him reluctantly to commit.

rejected
 by Maria
 Theresa
 and prince
 Kaunitz.

The dissatisfaction of the Poles had by this time
 become universal. The danger, threatening the
 Roman Catholic religion, began to stir the kin-
 dred bigotry of Maria Theresa; and the audacity
 of making a king of Poland without consulting
 the court of France, appeared an unpardonable
 insult to the pride of the duke of Choiseul. Sev-
 eral bodies of Austrian troops already hovered on
 the Polish frontiers; and France, though restrain-
 ed from open hostilities by an oppressive load of
 accumulating debts, plainly testified her ill-will
 by seizing every opportunity to offend the Em-
 press Catharine. The title of Imperial Majesty,
 which that princess affected, was declared by the

Austria
 and
 France
 propose to
 take part
 in the af-
 fairs of
 Poland,
 1766.

CHAP. *Académie des Quarante*, to be a solecism in French; VI. a circumstance undeserving of notice, did it not prove by what unworthy meanneſſes reſentment will ſeek its gratification, when deprived of the power to injure.

Conven-
tion be-
tween
Frederick
and Ca-
tharine for
support-
ing the
Polish dif-
ſidents,
1767.

The animosity of France and Austria, which those powers were not at any pains to conceal, tended only to strengthen the bonds of amity between Catharine and Frederick, who entered into a ſecret convention of ſupporting the diſſidents, the former by an armed force, and the latter by the moſt nervous remonſtrances both to the Poles and to the court of Vienna. But ſhould that court ſend troops into Poland, it was ſtipulated that his Pruſſian Maſteſty ſhould then have reſource to arms, and immediately invade Bohemia. In this invaſion, he was to be aſſiſted by the Empreſs Catharine, who, in return for his attacking the Auſtrian dominions purely on her account, engaged to procure for him a ſuitable compenſation at the end of the war. A body of Ruſſian troops having entered Poland, the diſſidents ventured to confederate for their own defence, while Frederick's miniſter at Warſaw inſiſted that they ſhould be reſtated in all their rights, agreeably to the treaty of Oliva. An extraordinary diet was aſſembled; the biſhops of Cracow and Kiow, together

gether with the crown-general Rezewusky, the most violent abettors of persecution, were banished to Siberia; and by the influence of different ministers from Protestant courts of Europe, and still more by the threats of the Russian troops, assembled in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, an act was obtained, confirming the dissidents in the enjoyment of all their rights.

The flame of discord, which might thus perhaps have been stifled, was kept alive by the intrigues of France. The emissaries of the duke of Choiseul hastened to all quarters with a mercenary diligence. Some encouraged the Poles to defend their liberty; others exhorted the Porte to resist the arbitrary measures of a neighbouring and val power; and a third class caballed at Stockholm, in order to exchange the established government, that the king of Sweden, being rendered absolute, might make a vigorous diversion in Finland. In the month of March, a confederacy of the Polish Catholics was formed under the count Kratzinsky, which annulled the new laws, and embraced resolutions for opposing the designs of Russia, and for dethroning Poniatowsky. That prince claimed the protection of Russia, which had raised him to the throne. The body of 10,000 Russian troops already quartered in Poland,

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The intrigues of France, by which the flame of discord is extended, 1768.

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land, defeated the army of the confederates, pursued them to the eastern frontier, and burned the town of Balta, in the Turkish territory, in which the enemy had taken refuge. This accident the Turks considered as an act of hostility; shut up the ambassador Obreskow in the fortress of the seven towers; and notwithstanding the prudent admonitions of Frederick, who advised them not to threaten till they were able to strike, declared war against Russia.

War between the
Turks and
Russians,
1769.

In the ensuing spring, the armies of both nations took the field. It was the war, says Frederick, of the short-sighted against the blind; but as the ignorance of the military art was greatest on the side of the Turks, they were defeated in every encounter, and having lost the city of Choczim, were stripped of the extensive province of Moldavia. The rapid progress of the Russians not only alarmed the enemy, but excited jealousy in the allies of that nation. The courts of Vienna and Berlin began to feel the impression of one common interest; and the Emperor, who had been obliged to avoid an interview with Frederick in 1766, now offered to visit that monarch in Silesia with the consent both of Maria Theresa and of prince Kaunitz.

The

The interview took place at Neisse, where the Emperor arrived under the name of count Falkenstein. He was desirous to keep himself *incognito*, and Frederick thought that he could not do him greater honour than by complying exactly with his inclinations. It was then that his Prussian Majesty judged that august personage (the first in rank among European princes); and the award of posterity, founded on the actions of the Emperor Joseph, will confirm or reverse the sentence. "The frankness which he affected, seemed natural to him; in his amiable character, gaiety mingled with vivacity; but though desirous of knowledge, he wanted the patience necessary to attain it." The king said to the Emperor, that he would regard the present day as the happiest of his life, because it had served to unite two families, long hostile, but whose interest it was, mutually to second each other's projects. The Emperor replied, That Silesia existed no longer for the House of Austria, but at the same time insinuated with abundant dexterity, that while his mother lived, he was not at liberty to act precisely as he wished; yet declared openly, that neither Maria Theresa, nor himself, would ever allow the Russians to retain possession of Moldavia.

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Interview
between
Frederick
and the
Emperor,
August
25, 1769.

But

CHAP. VI. But the ambition of the Empress Catharine was

not likely to rest satisfied with that important conquest. Her squadrons in the Mediterranean ravaged the shores of Greece, pursued the enemy to the coast of Asia Minor, and in the channel of Scio, took, burnt, or sunk the whole Turkish fleet. Count Panin, brother to the minister, laid

July 10; siege to Bender, and made himself master of that city; while the victories of mareschal Romanzow added the province of Walachia to that of Moldavia; territories embracing the whole eastern frontier of Transylvania and Hungary. These multiplied successes, which had given a very dangerous neighbour to the House of Austria, occasioned the forming of magazines in Hungary, and the sending of reinforcements into the threatened provinces. They produced likewise a second interview

between the Emperor, or rather between prince Kaunitz and his Prussian Majesty, at Neustadt, in Moravia. The prince displayed ostentatiously the system of his court, of which he declared himself the author; observing, that the Empress Queen would never permit the Russians to settle in her neighbourhood; and adding, that the union of Austria and Prussia formed the only mound fitted to resist that torrent from the north, which threatened to overwhelm Europe. Frederick excused himself, by his alliance recently contracted with Russia,

Great success of the Russians in their war with the Turks, 1770,

which occasions a second interview between Frederick and the Emperor, September 3.

Russia, from adopting the measures which the Austrian minister proposed; but offered his best endeavours towards reconciling the Imperial courts, and preventing the war between the Turks and Russians from involving other powers in their quarrel. As this conversation had passed between his Majesty and prince Kaunitz only, the former thought handsome to communicate its purport to the Emperor, who being but little accustomed to such marks of attention, seemed highly pleased with this instance of politeness.

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By strongly dissuading the war with Russia, which had hitherto proved so unfortunate, Frederick had gained much credit with the Turks; who, at his earnest entreaty, accepted the mediation of the court of Vienna, to which they were naturally averse. The day following his Majesty's conference with prince Kaunitz, a courier arrived at Neustadt from the Grand Seignior, inviting the courts of Berlin and Vienna to accommodate the differences subsisting between the Russians and the Porte. Frederick immediately complimented the Emperor and the minister of Maria Theresa on that happy event, which gave them an opportunity of modelling the conditions of peace, as best suited their interests. The Emperor expressed his gratitude in warm terms; but the minister observ-

By Frederick's management, the Turks prevailed on to solicit the mediation of the courts of Berlin and Vienna, 1770.

CHAP. VI. ed with affected indifference, that he much approved the step taken by the Turks, but that, at bottom, never any mediation had been accepted more eagerly.

By means of his brother prince Henry, Frederick negotiates with Russia, 1771. Frederick embraced the earliest opportunity of communicating the proposition of the Porte to the court of St. Petersburg; insinuating, that should the interposition of Prussia and Austria be rejected, he much feared that the Turks would apply to France, a power still more odious to Catharine than Austria itself. At first, the court of St. Petersburg declined the mediation offered, on pretence of having already refused that of England. Afterwards, a private but unsuccessful negotiation was set on foot with the Turks, by means of the mareschal Romanzow. But prince Henry of Prussia happening at that time to visit his sister the Queen of Sweden at Stockholm, Catharine, who had been acquainted in her youth with that prince, invited him to St. Petersburg. He accepted the invitation; and his dexterity soon acquired such an ascendancy over the mind of the Empress, that he persuaded her to explain her intentions cordially to his brother. To the letter of her Imperial Majesty, was added a long memoir, which, after a moderate and pacific preface, demanded from the Turks the city of Asoph, with

its

its dependant district; the two Cabardies, which
compose the ancient Colchis; the sequestration
for twenty-five years of Walachia and Moldavia,
in order to compensate for the expences of the
war; the free navigation of the Black Sea, to-
gether with an island in the Archipelago; a per-
petual amnesty in favour of the Greeks, who had
embraced the Russian cause; the independence of
the Khan of the Crimea, and the immediate re-
lease of the Russian ambassador from the fortress
of the Seven Towers.

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Such exorbitant pretensions might have precipitated the court of Vienna into the most violent measures. Frederick therefore concealed from that court Catharine's demands, until he had insinuated to the Russian Empress, in the gentlest terms possible, the difficulty of making the Grand Seignior consent to the independence of the Tartars; the invincible obstacles which the Austrians could oppose to the sequestration of Moldavia and Walachia; and the jealousy which her possessing an island in the Archipelago would create in the maritime powers of Europe. In the style of anxious friendship, he exhorted her to limit her demands to Colchis and Asoph, and the free navigation of the Euxine; observing, that the Turks had already determined to grant an amnesty to the

His address in this negotiation, and in the mode of communicating it to the court of Vienna, 1771.

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Greeks, and to set Mr. Obreskow at liberty. These representations, which his Majesty professed to make, not with the smallest wish to prevent the aggrandisement of Russia, but with an earnest desire of hindering the war from becoming general, occasioned much uneasiness to Catharine, who concealed not her disappointment at finding her favourite measures thwarted by her best ally. Without any material alteration, she adhered to the conditions already specified, which Frederick therefore communicated to the court of Vienna, insinuating however, that this was not the last word of the Russians, who would doubtless be inclined to abate somewhat in those articles which appeared most obnoxious.

The Austrians seize the district of Zips, in Poland, 1772;

This precaution was not unnecessary. The Austrian troops had already marched from Flanders and Italy; and the Emperor's minister at Berlin had already proposed to Frederick that, should the Russians be attacked in any other country but Poland, the Prussians should stand neuter. Though this was positively refused, prince Kaunitz expected, by means of an armed mediation, not only to compel the Russians to restore their conquests, but in return for his good offices, to recover from the Turks the provinces which Austria had lost by the peace of Belgrade. Filled with

with these great projects, he sent a body of Austrian troops to seize the Polish district of Zips, on the Hungarian frontier; a measure so bold, that it astonished the court of St. Petersburg, and facilitated, more than any other event, the treaty for the partition of Poland, which was soon afterwards concluded among the three powers.

Provoked that any other troops but her own should invade that country, the Empress Catharine said to prince Henry, that should the court of Vienna pretend to dismember Poland, neighbouring states must imitate that example; an overture made very seasonably, since it furnished the only expedient for satisfying all parties, and preventing the outbreak of a general war in Europe. Instead of Moldavia and Walachia, which the Russians could not expect to enjoy without defeating the Austrians as often as they had already defeated the Turks, the Empress Catharine might indemnify herself for the expence of the war, by appropriating that valuable slip of Polish territory, extending on the eastern side of the Druce and the Dwina, from the gulph of Riga to the Ukraine; Austria might exchange her lofty projects for Ladomeria and Galicia, Polish provinces confining on Hungary: and the king of Prussia might acquire Pomerellia as a compensation for the subsidy

which event is the immediate cause of the treaty of partition

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sidy of 480,000 crowns which, since the commencement of the Turkish war, he had paid the Empress Catharine, in lieu of the auxiliaries stipulated by the treaty of St. Peterburgh. These territories united, formed the materials of a considerable kingdom, containing about 5,000,000 of souls. The portion assigned to Russia was the most extensive; that claimed by Austria was the most populous; but of the three, Pomerellia, part of which had formerly been annexed to Brandenburg, was the most commercial and the most valuable, since it commanded the navigation of the Vistula; and (a circumstance of great importance, especially in time of war) joined Frederick's dutchy of Pomerania to his kingdom of Prussia.

between
Russia and
Prussia,
1772.

The count of Solms, Prussian envoy at St. Peterburgh, was desired to examine whether, in the overture made to prince Henry, the Empress Catharine was sincere. Count Panin, who at the commencement of the Polish troubles, had declared that Russia would maintain the indivisibility of Poland, was unwilling to sacrifice the consistency of his own character. But the Empress was ambitious of aggrandising her dominions. The courtiers and ministers ranged themselves on the side of their mistress. The plan of partition was adopted by a majority of the council; and announced


nounced by count Panin to Frederick, as an expedient for indemnifying him for the subsidies which he had paid, and still continued to pay, to Russia. At the same time, his Majesty was requested to sound the intentions of the court of Vienna.

Frederick lost not a moment in communicating the Russian project to Van Swieten, the Imperial minister. He told him that Russia testified not the smallest uneasiness at seeing the Austrians seize Zips; and that as a friend to their Imperial Majesties, he advised them to extend their dominions at pleasure on that frontier; which they might do with the greater safety, because other powers in the neighbourhood of Poland would doubtless embrace similar measures. This cordial overture met with a very unexpected reception from prince Kaunitz. Filled with the most sanguine hopes of regaining Servia, and perhaps part of Moldavia, by means of the alliance with the Turks, he answered drily, that although the court of Vienna had occupied some parcels of territory on the confines of Hungary, it had not been with the intention of keeping those districts, but merely to recover a sum of money due to Austria by the Poles; and that he never could have suspected so slight a matter should have given rise to a plan of partition,

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Prince
Kaunitz
opposes
that pro-
ject,
1772.

between
Russia and
Prussia
1772.

CHAP. VI.  tion, an enterprize involved in such difficulties and dangers, that he advised his Prussian Majesty not by any means to abet it. He added, with an air of indifference, that the Austrians were ready to evacuate the districts which they had occupied, on condition that other powers did the same; an observation meant as a reproach to the Russians, who had long maintained troops in the territory of the Republic, and likewise to the Prussians, who had formed a cordon from Crossen to Kænigsburch, in order to ward off the plague, which then raged in Poland.

Frederick's hopes of success founded on the actual state of Europe.

In a matter of such moment as the acquisition of Pomerellia, Frederick was not to be discouraged by small difficulties. Should the Empress Catharine's views continue to correspond with his own, Austria, he foresaw, must soon be obliged to embrace the same plan. By the downfall of the duke of Choiseul, whom the chancellor Mœaupoux and the dukes of Richelieu and Au-
gaillon had supplanted in the favour of Lewis XV. by means of Madame Barré, the court of Vienna could no longer expect to reap the same advantages as formerly from the alliance of the great powers. England was torn by domestic dissensions; and laying a foundation in faction at home, for a ruinous war abroad. Spain was remote;
and

and the secondary powers of the North and the South had scarcely any influence on the general affairs of Europe.

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Of this favourable conjuncture of circumstances, Frederick determined to avail himself for bringing to a speedy issue the business of the partition. The count of Solms was desired to intimate to the court of St. Petersburg, that the project for dividing Poland had been communicated to prince Kaunitz, who had hitherto indeed avoided to explain his intentions respecting that subject, but who could not fail to co-operate with Russia and Prussia, as soon as those courts had adjusted their respective interests. This political stratagem, Frederick endeavours to justify by the plea of necessity. There was not a moment to lose; the Russians are habitually indolent; and perhaps he would have found it impossible to rouse them from their lethargy, had not prince Kaunitz reinforced the Austrians in Hungary, and concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Turks. The Empress Catharine, being informed of these measures, hastened to settle with Frederick the plan of partition, with a view to make sure of the assistance of that prince, by procuring for him advantages equivalent to the danger of engaging in a new war with the House of Austria.

His artifices for hastening its happy issue.

But

CHAPTER

VII

His en-
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for accom-
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the differ-
ences be-
tween the
Imperial
courts;

But Frederick hoped to obtain the advantage without incurring the risk, and therefore endeavoured to accommodate the differences between the Imperial courts; determining, should that design prove impracticable, strictly to adhere to his engagements with Russia. This resolution seemed equally honourable and prudent; for had the king affected to preserve a neutrality in the war between the two empresses, they might probably, after harassing each other during a few campaigns, have agreed to make peace at his expence: but by securing the friendship of one of these powerful neighbours, he would be enabled to set the resentment of the other at defiance. In his negotiation with Russia, therefore, he overlooked the vast disproportion of advantages stipulated in favour of that empire. Catharine's share of Poland was to be twice as extensive as his own; and in case Russia should be attacked by the Austrians, Frederick was to assist the former with the whole force of his kingdom; whereas, should he himself be attacked by the same enemy, he was not entitled to demand any succour from the Russians, till they had concluded their war with the Turks.

and to ter-
minate the
war be-

In a memoir addressed to the Empress Catharine, Frederick pointed out the inequality of these con-
ditions;

ditions; and requested as a compensation well becoming the dignity and generosity of so great a princess, that she would grant less rigorous terms of peace to the Grand Seignior; and that the town of Danzig, situate on the coast of Pomerellia, should be added to his own share in the division of Poland. The latter proposal was rejected. Catharine said, that she had guaranteed the freedom of Danzig; and the court of Great Britain, jealous of the aggrandisement of Prussia, undertook the protection of a city, which had long exercised a commercial despotism over the other towns on the Baltic. But as to the first part of the demand, Catharine was more compliant. Frederick had remounted his cavalry, to shew that he meant, if necessary, effectually to co-operate with Russia; and Catharine, moved by gratitude, agreed, at his request, to restore to the Turks her conquests between the Dniester and the Danube. This important intelligence was immediately communicated to the court of Vienna; and Prince Kaunitz, being thus rescued at once from the terror of having the Russians for his neighbours, and of seeing the numerous votaries of the Greek church in Hungary revolt to a rival Empire, appeared for the first time with a serene countenance. The same news gave extraordinary satisfaction at Constantinople, the Turks having

been

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between the

Turks and

Russians.

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been equally unfortunate in the present as in the preceding campaign. To soothe the Empress, they released Mr. Obreskow from his confinement; and set on foot a negotiation for terminating a war, which had proved to them a perpetual series of disasters.

Frederick brings matters to such a pass, that Austria accedes to the treaty of partition, March 1772.

Frederick's convention with Catharine for dividing Poland, was signed the 17th of February 1772. It remained for his Majesty to engage the court of Vienna to share the advantage and the reproach of that extraordinary enterprise. In a conference with the Austrian envoy, he desired him in his name to congratulate the Empress Queen, on having the fate of Europe in her hands; and assured him, that his confidence in the approved wisdom of that great princess left him not the smallest room to doubt that she would prefer the certain advantages of peace to the doubtful chance of war. This conversation was speedily communicated to prince Kaunitz. The sudden remounting of the Prussian cavalry had convinced that vigilant minister that Frederick, though extremely solicitous to prevent a general war, was resolved, should the crisis terminate in such an unfortunate issue, to assist Russia to the utmost of his power. As it was uncertain, therefore, whether it would be possible to hinder Prussia and Russia

sia from dismembering Poland, prince Kaunitz determined that Austria should share the spoils; and, in consequence of this resolution, proposed to the court of Berlin the ratification of an act, by which the contracting parties should bind themselves to make the partition equally. This instrument was signed at Berlin in March, and soon afterwards at St. Petersburg; the 1st of September being fixed by the three powers for taking possession of the territories which they had respectively appropriated. The king of Poland was to be informed of this arrangement; and an extraordinary diet was to be assembled at Warsaw, in which the claims of the invaders were to be heard and ratified; and the domestic differences of the Poles to be finally adjusted.

But these decisive measures had no sooner been adopted, than a new revolution in the North retarded their execution. The prince royal of Sweden happened to be at Paris at the time of his father's death; and the ministers of Lewis XV. who beheld with extreme jealousy the aggrandisement of Russia, and who, not being able to oppose it by open force, had long endeavoured to prevent it by secret intrigue, applied to that young prince, and promised to pay the arrears due by France to Sweden for the services of the latter in the septennial war, amounting to 1,300,000 crowns, on condition

The revolution in Sweden, August 18, 1772.

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condition that some part of that great sum should be employed in destroying the Swedish aristocracy, and rendering the king absolute. The young Swede, lively and ambitious as he was, entered warmly into that project; for the execution of which the diet to be assembled at his coronation might furnish a very favourable opportunity. At his return to Stockholm, his emissaries, loaded with money, were sent to all the provinces of the kingdom, in order to corrupt the troops and the deputies. His brother prince Charles set himself at the head of a brigade, intending to march to the capital to assert the cause of the king. But before his arrival, the revolution was already effected. By the assistance of two regiments, the guards, and the artillery, Gustavus III. made himself master of the arsenal, pointed cannons against the streets and squares, and having assembled the trembling senate, compelled that body, which represented the nation, to declare him unlimited sovereign of his country.

Frederick
prevents
a war be-
tween
Sweden
and Rus-
sia.

This event, which recalled to their remembrance the ambitious reign of Charles XII. when Sweden had proved so formidable to its neighbours, greatly alarmed the powers of the North, and furnished abundant materials for a new war. Russia, it was to be expected, would have no sooner concluded

her

her differences with the Turks, than she would employ the force of her extensive empire to re-establish the Swedish aristocracy; a form of government, so well calculated to bridle the activity of the king, and to distract or enfeeble the exertions of the state. Denmark, the eternal enemy of Sweden, would not fail to co-operate towards the same design. Prussia had similar interests; and by her treaty with Russia she had guaranteed the form of government then established in Sweden. But Gustavus III. was Frederick's nephew; and nature, which sometimes speaks to the heart of kings, rendered the enlightened humanity of that great monarch extremely averse to commence hostilities against so near a relation. He endeavoured to moderate the indignation of the Empress Catharine; and the firmness with which the Turks opposed the severe conditions of peace to which that princess wished to subject them, allowed time for the court of Vienna to interpose its good offices at Frederick's request, and happily to appease the rising tempest.

The Swedish monarch, delivered from immediate apprehensions on the side of Russia, turned his views towards Denmark, that, by first defeating one enemy, he might be enabled the more easily to resist the other. Christian VII. king of Denmark, State of Denmark, 1771 and 1772.

CHAP. Denmark, had mounted the throne in early youth.

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His experience and his weakness were disturbed by the cabals of courtiers and the intrigues of women. Soon after his marriage with the princess Matilda of England, Saldern, the Russian envoy, persuaded him to travel. He visited England and France; his worthless attendants cherished his natural appetite to low pleasures. At his return to Denmark, he had contracted a disease, which being totally neglected in its progress, ruined his health, as the remedies, to which he afterwards was directed, greatly weakened his understanding. Struensee, his physician, was for several months king of Denmark; but this unworthy domination was overturned by the address of the queen dowager. Struensee was beheaded; Matilda was divorced; and a new faction took possession of the government.

Frederick VI. The unsettledness of a new administration, and the discontents of the Norwegians, whose poverty had been oppressed by excessive contributions, formed the ambition of the king of Sweden. Some deputies from the Norwegian peasants met that prince in the town of Eckholmfund, and assured him, that he had only to appear with a small body of troops on their frontiers, to encourage the whole nation to throw off the Danish yoke.

Gustavus,

Gustavus, without scrupulously weighing the probability of this intelligence, hastily marched into Scania under pretence of celebrating the Eric Gatta. From thence he proceeded to the Norwegian frontiers; dispatched a threatening letter to the king of Denmark; and while his army prepared to invade Norway, his fleet attempted to burn the docks of Copenhagen. But the fire of his Swedish Majesty was but a fire of straw. The remonstrances of his uncle easily repressed his fury. By Frederick's interposition, the two courts were reconciled, Denmark recovered from its panic, and Gustavus returned quietly to his capital.

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These disturbances in the North, fruitless negotiations with the Turks, dissensions between the minister count Panin and prince Orlow the favourite of the Empress, together with the marriage of the great duke, to whose bed Frederick had artfully recommended the princess of Darmstadt, sister to the princess royal of Prussia, so much engaged the court of St. Petersburg, that it was not till the 15th of April 1773, that a diet could be assembled for regulating the affairs of Poland. The partitioning powers sent three armies into that country, each of 10,000 men; accompanied by a manifesto containing a deduction of their respective claims. Frederick's title to Pomerellia

The partitioning powers invade Poland, 1773.

CHAP. VII was founded on its annexation to Brandenburg and Pomerania before these provinces had been dismembered by the Poles: he demanded Elbing as mortgaged for a sum of money lent by his ancestors to the republic; and he claimed Marienburgh and Culm as compensation for the city of Danzig, which, though the capital of Pomerellia, was to remain independent. His Majesty in his own narrative glances but lightly at these titles; but observes repeatedly, that the partition of Poland was the only expedient that could have been devised at that crisis, for preventing a general war in Europe.

The
treaty of
cession ra-
tified by
the Poles,
1773.

The three courts required the king of Poland and the Republic to ratify their respective claims, and to terminate their domestic dissensions. They demanded besides, the establishment of a permanent council, as well as a fixed sum for the maintenance of Poniatowsky, and for subsisting a body of Polish troops, amounting to 30,000 men. The Poles at first were refractory; which obliged the three courts to declare that, should this obstinacy continue, they would proceed without delay to divide among themselves the whole kingdom; but, on the contrary, should the Poles become docile, that they would immediately withdraw their troops from the territories of the Republic, and guaran-

tee its independent government and hereditary possessions. This declaration was hardly made, when the various parts of this complicated system arranged themselves spontaneously. The treaty of cession was first signed with the Austrians, then with the Russians, and finally with the Prussians, on the 18th of September.

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In making this great national sacrifice, the Poles, who of all European nations are the most frivolous and the most inconsiderate, flattered themselves with the hopes that its consequences would not be perpetual; and the events of the Turkish war tended to rivet their attachment to this fond fancy. The Empress Catharine, encouraged by the brilliant success of her arms on the north side of the Danube, commanded marshal Romanzow to pass that river with his army, expecting that, by gaining victories in the neighbourhood of Constantinople itself, she would bend the obstinacy of the Sultan, and compel him to accept peace, however onerous and disgraceful. But this enterprise was attended with difficulties which had not been foreseen by the council of St. Peterburgh. That part of the Danube which divides Walachia from Bulgaria, is a German mile in breadth. To cover it with a bridge is impossible; and it would be hazardous to land on the southern

The Russians defeated, and obliged to repass the Danube in the spring, 1773.

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bank, exposed to the fire of an enemy. Besides these obstacles, Romanzow represented the difficulty of forming magazines on the hostile shore; and the danger to which his army would be exposed of encountering misfortunes there, similar to those which Peter the Great had experienced on the banks of the Pruth. The Empress's resolution was unalterable. Romanzow with 35,000 men crossed the Danube, and attacked the city of Silistria, which is situate in a hollow, surrounded by mountains that were strongly fortified and defended by 30,000 Turks. The army of the grand vizier was encamped on Mount Hæmus, and within reach of succouring the place. The Spahis or Turkish cavalry defeated one of the divisions of the Russian army, and compelled another which had already entered Silistria, to abandon that conquest, and to retire towards the Danube with considerable loss. The vizier kept his main body immovable in the camp, but sent a detachment to occupy a defile which leads from Silistria to the Danube. This detachment was dislodged. The Russians made good their retreat; and in the space of three days, their whole army was transported to the opposite coast; being saved from the fatal consequences of this rash enterprise by the gross ignorance and almost incredible inactivity of their enemies.

The

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VI.Equally
unsuccess-
ful in the
autumn.

The Empress Catharine, dissatisfied but not discouraged, reinforced her army in Wallachia, and gave orders to marshal Romanzow to repeat the same attempt in the autumn, at which season she was informed that most of the Turkish troops returned to their respective provinces. The Russians under the generals Ungern and Solतिकow again passed the Danube; the former advanced to the town of Warna, situate on the Black Sea, and at the mouth of the river from which it derives its name. This town was well fortified, surrounded by a ditch filled with water, defended by a strong garrison, and its harbour crowded with Turkish frigates, whose guns commanded the shore. Ungern perceived that it was impossible to make himself master of the place. In this retreat, he was pursued by the Turks, who took his cannon, and destroyed a considerable part of his detachment. The other divisions of the army were not more successful: their magazines were seized by the enemy; and they were obliged to repair the Danube with diminished numbers, greatly fatigued, and half-starved. To these misfortunes was joined in the same year, the revolt of the Cossacks, in the neighbourhood of Orenburgh, an insurrection which soon extended from the banks of the Yaic to those of the Don. The Cossacks complained that their country was exhausted by exorbitant

Revolt of
the Cos-
sacks.

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orbitant demands of men and horses for the service of the Russian army. Their leader Pugatchief pretended to be accompanied by the Czar Peter III. and threatened to dethrone Catharine. His party was joined by the barbarous provinces extending between the shore of the Caspian and the neighbourhood of Moscôw. The Empress withdrew her troops from Poland; but such is the extent of her vast empire, and such the difficulty of marching armies in those countries, that the rebels could not be effectually opposed till March 1774.

Terms of
the peace
between
the Rus-
sians and
Turks;

July 10,
1774.

These vexatious events, which had raised the hopes of the Poles, inclined Catharine to grant peace to the Turks. By means of his Prussian Majesty, a negotiation was set on foot for that purpose; but the independence of the Crimea, and the exorbitant cessions demanded by the Russians, retarded the conclusion of the treaty, till the season arrived for opening the campaign. To avoid a general engagement, the grand vizier had pitched his tents on the mountains of Bulgaria, hoping, by detachments only, to repel the Russians, who again passed the Danube. But Romanzow, eager to compensate the disasters of the preceding campaign, found means of turning the Turkish army, defeated all the parties which opposed his progress, inter-

intercepted the enemy's convoys from the Euxine, while general Kominsky cut off their communication with Adrianople. The Turks were reduced to the necessity of either starving in their camp, or opening a passage by the sword. This hard alternative brought the grand vizier to his wit's end; he was ready to sign whatever conditions of peace mareschal Romanzow thought proper to impose. The preliminaries, which were ratified in the mareschal's camp the 10th July 1774, gave to the Russians Asoph, Kinburn, and Janikala; the free navigation of the Propontis, Euxine, and Archipelago; the independence of the Crimea; and the sum of 4,500,000 rubles, as an indemnification for the expence of the war.

An important and almost immediate consequence of this treaty was the defeat of the Tartar insurgents. The Empress withdrew her troops from Romulia, overpowered Pugatchef by numbers, dispersed his adherents, and intercepted his retreat. Betrayed by one of his followers, that daring chief, who, had his fortune equalled his abilities, might have overturned the Russian empire, was delivered into the hands of his enemies, and suffered the just punishment of unsuccessful rebellion.

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Defeat of
the Tar-
tar in-
sur-
gents, and
punish-
ment of
Pugat-
chef, Jan.
21, 1775.

January
21, 1775.

The

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Circum-

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which re-

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settlement

of Poland,

till the

year

1777.

The termination of the war in a manner so unexpected, and so highly favourable to the interests of Russia, totally ruined the hopes which the Poles had conceived from the issue of the preceding campaign. At the commencement of the year 1774, they talked not only of recovering their territories, but of greatly enlarging them. The Grand Seignor, they imagined, at the head of his brave Janizaries, would soon penetrate into Russia, burn Moscow and St. Petersburg, dethrone the Empress Catharine, and divide with his Polish allies the ruins of her vast empire. But the defeat and humiliation of the Turks had overthrown these lofty projects, and left the Poles no other resource but that of a ready and almost implicit submission. The permanent council was established; the sum of 1,200,000 crowns was fixed for supporting the establishment of Poniatowsky; but instead of 30,000, scarcely 14,000, troops, were retained in the pay of the Republic; and the partitioning powers found too much necessary employment in resisting each other's incroachments beyond the prescribed bounds, to have leisure to procure any material relief for their dissidents, whose oppressed condition had served as a pretence for their first interference in the affairs of Poland. By availing themselves of inaccurate maps of that country, and confounding the names of two rivers,

the

CHAP.
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the Sbruze and the Podhorze, the Austrians had extended their acquisitions far beyond the limits assigned them in the treaty of partition. And as there had been an express stipulation, that the division should be made equally, Prussia thought herself obliged to imitate this example, in order to maintain the balance; and therefore added the old and new Netze to the share of Poland which she had already acquired. But the Empress of Russia, who, not contented with a part, aspired to govern the whole country, and whose ambassadors at Warsaw acted the part of Roman proconsuls in the conquered provinces, seasonably interposed, and put a stop to incroachments, which seemed exorbitant and endless. Representations, remonstrances, and threats, succeeded each other. Long negotiations followed, during which, Frederick, when it was neither just nor prudent to resist, maintained his honour by yielding gracefully. The Austrians were more haughty and more uncomplying. The new settlement, or, as it was preposterously called, the reformation of Poland, was retarded till the year 1777; when the partitioning powers were restrained, by mutual jealousy and mutual fear, from extending their usurpations, and confined nearly to their respective districts which they had severally appropriated by the treaty of partition.

This

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Frederick's
dexterity
in accom-
plishing
that de-
sign.

This memorable transaction, by which a territory containing 5,000,000 of souls changed masters, was thus prepared, conducted, and accomplished, by the profound policy of Frederick, without risking a battle. In effecting such an important revolution, he availed himself with admirable dexterity of the intestine dissensions of the Poles, of the pride and jealousy of Russia, of the irresolution and terror of the House of Austria, of the weakness and ignorance of the Turks, and of the distractions and difficulties of the other powers of Europe. Since the accession of Lewis XVI. in 1774, France, which was crushed under the weight of its immense debts, had been governed by Mr. Maurepas, who, at the age of fourscore, was unwilling, in addition to the naval hostilities which he meditated against England, to involve his country in a continental war, of which he could not expect to see the end. England was engaged in an unfortunate contest with her American colonies, which made her entirely lose sight of the affairs of Europe. The other powers of the North and South were feeble or remote, indifferent to the concerns of Poland, or hostile to each other. Taken separately, they were not of any account; and even conjoined with the Poles and with each other, they could not have made any effectual resistance to the measures of three mighty potentates directed to one common purpose.

To

To Frederick, who had duly considered the state of neighbouring and remote nations, the reason seemed highly favourable for rounding his dominions, and for saving from destruction one part at least of a country, which had been long subject to the worst disorders of elective monarchy, combined with aristocratical turbulence and feudal oppression; and which, in addition to these evils, was actually involved in a civil war, envenomed by the artifices of priests, and inflamed by the enthusiasm of the multitude. The territory which he acquired, joined his dutchy of Pomerania with his kingdom of Prussia, commanded the navigation of the Vistula, and thereby engrossed the whole trade of Poland; a country of such exuberant fertility in grain, that whatever nation is master of its coast can neither dread the danger of famine, nor feel the inconvenience of scarcity.

Yet the province of Pomerellia, which enjoyed so many natural advantages, presented to the Prussian occupants unvaried scenes of lawless barbarity and dreary desolation. In most parts of the country, the barns and cottages had fallen to decay; in the towns of Culm and Bromberg, which had walls and churches, the houses wanted roofs, doors, and windows; for the plague in 1709 had produced

CHAR.
VL

The importance of his acquisition in Poland.

Extraordinary and rapid improvements which his Majesty made in the state of that country.

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produced evils, which the laziness of the Poles had never attempted to repair. In this wretched province, education was totally neglected, courts of justice were unknown; there was not a post for letters or for passengers; even the most common artizans, carpenters, taylor, and blacksmiths, were rare and precious personages. But in the course of a few years, Pomerellia, under the Prussian government, was supplied with whatever it had before wanted; schools, colleges of justice, and artificers. At the expence of 300,000 crowns, the ruined farm-houses were repaired. The sum of 700,000 crowns was employed in making a canal, which, joining the Netze and the Vistula, formed a communication between that great river and the Oder, the Havel, and the Elbe; the marshes were drained; the cities rebuilt and re peopled. His Majesty purchased the Starosties, or personal fiefs, for 500,000 crowns. Landed property was firmly secured and judiciously distributed. The commerce of Elbing began to flourish on the ruins of that of Danzig; and Western Prussia (for thus Frederick's new acquisitions have been named) soon produced an increasing revenue of 5,000,000 of crowns; an addition of income which, as shall be explained in the following chapter, was employed by the enlightened policy of that great prince in undertakings the most useful in peace, and enterprises the most honourable in war.

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produced evils, which the laziness of the Poles had never attended to. In his wretched province, education was totally neglected, courts

The Emperor takes possession of Bavaria. His correspondence with Frederick; who undertakes the defence of the injured princes. Frederick's negotiations and military success. Peace of Teschen.

Having secured the public tranquillity, Frederick applies with undivided attention to the duties of his domestic administration. Analysis of national prosperity. The means by which Frederick promoted it: 1. As to subsistence. 2. Defence. 3. Physical and moral improvement. 4. Enjoyment.

5. The assured prospect of the continuance of those benefits. The Germanic union. Frederick's employment during sickness. His death and character.

FREDERICK's power and renown had cemented, in 1756, an intimate union between the rival houses of Austria and Bourbon; and his partition of Poland, in 1773, had well nigh produced a still greater political prodigy, an offensive alliance between the courts of London and Versailles. But the perturbed affairs of America attracted the attention and exertions of England to countries beyond the Atlantic; and the cautious

policy

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State of
Europe
and ambi-
tion of the
Emperor
Joseph,
1774.

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policy of the aged Maurepas preferred to a dangerous conflict in Germany, in which country the arms of France have seldom reaped laurels, the easier task of protecting the insurgents in the British colonies. The alliance, indeed, of the partitioning powers, whose fair and blooming surface occasioned such general alarm, was rotten at the heart. It had been formed by interest, and by interest it was ready to be dissolved. The ambition of the young Emperor seemed to be whetted by his share of the Polish spoils. His able and artful minister had contrived to obtain from the Turks a part of Moldavia, stretching along the banks of the Niester to the neighbourhood of Choczim, as a compensation for his good offices towards preventing the whole of that province, as well as Walachia, from falling into the hands of the Russians. This transaction gave just offence to the Empress Catharine, who perceived, that in case of a new war with the Porte, the Austrians, being masters of the Niester, might intercept her convoys from Poland, in which country she usually formed magazines. The Austrian army was 170,000 strong, a military power far more considerable than any preceding Emperor, without excepting Charles V. had ever been able to collect. The aspiring Joseph disdained concealing his determined resolution of enlarging his dominions

dominions at the expence of all his neighbours. CHAP. VII.
Towards the East he prepared to claim Servia and
Bosnia; on the South he expected to dismember
the territories of Venice; and to join his dutchy
of Milan to Tyrol and Trieste; Alsace, once a
province of the Empire; and Lorraine, the patri-
mony of his ancestors, tempted his rapacity on
the West; but it appeared from the following in-
cident, that Silesia, on the Northern frontier,
formed the favourite object of his ambition.

Towards the close of the year 1775, his Prussian Majesty being afflicted by returns of the gout more frequent and more violent than usual, Van Swieten, the Imperial envoy at Berlin, wrote to the Emperor, that Frederick's long reign was drawing fast to a conclusion. Upon this agreeable intelligence, the Austrian troops were in motion; the divisions in all parts of the Empire were commanded to assemble in Bohemia; and Joseph, filled with expectation, prepared at Vienna, upon the first news of the king's death, to advance to the frontiers of Brandenburg, and thence to offer the successor to the Prussian throne the alternative of restoring Silesia, or of being crushed in his unsettled and defenceless state, by the combined strength of the Austrian monarchy.

Discovers
his design
of attack-
ing Prus-
sia, 1775
and 1776.

But,

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His tra-
vels into
France,
1777.

But, amidst these preparations, Frederick's malady abated; and, towards the commencement of the year 1776, his Majesty was well, and on horseback. The Austrian troops returned to their quarters, and Joseph travelled into France to visit the Queen his sister. His residence at that court tended not to cement the union between him and his brother-in-law Lewis XVI. At the court of Versailles, the Emperor's behaviour was unexceptionable; but in surveying the provinces, he could not help testifying some degree of regret and envy, when he beheld their flourishing manufactures, which greatly surpassed those of his own dominions; and expressing passions still more violent, when he considered that Normandy, Brittany, and Provence, together with other countries formerly independent, had been gradually incorporated into the French monarchy; whereas in Germany, in which country he enjoyed the august title of Emperor, there still remained princes bold enough to oppose his inclinations, and even to resist him in war.

Takes
possession
of Bava-
ria, 1777
and 1778.

These reflections, which might otherwise have evaporated in their own emptiness, acquired consistence and strength from an event as important as it was unforeseen. Towards the close of the year 1777, Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bava-
ria,

ria, died of the small-pox; and his death terminated the male branch of the Lodovician line, which had governed that country for near five centuries. His general heir was Charles Theodore, elector palatine of the Rhine; a prince in his 54th year, who not having any legitimate offspring, considered his nephew the duke of Deuxponts, as his successor. But the demise of the elector of Bavaria was no sooner known at Vienna, than the Emperor, grounding his claim on obsolete documents, pretended that the fiefs in Bavaria had escheated to the king of Bohemia, and prepared by an armed force to make himself master of the former province. Maria Theresa reluctantly consented to this violent measure, at the persuasion of prince Kaunitz, who successfully cultivated the Emperor's favour, by promoting his views of ambition. A body of troops, amounting to sixteen battalions and twenty squadrons, with eighty pieces of cannon, were conducted towards Munich. The Elector Palatine trembled in the palace, of which he had just taken possession; and being promised establishments for his natural children, provided he abandoned the interests of his lawful heir, readily entered into a convention, which alienated from the duke of Deuxponts two thirds of Bavaria.

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VII.

Frederick
entrusted
with the
interests
of those
injured by
this vio-
lence.

This transaction could not fail to excite an universal alarm. Should the Emperor obtain the right of disposing at pleasure of vacant and doubtful inheritances, there was an end of all those laws and treaties which had hitherto upheld the safety of the Germanic constitution. This consequence escaped not Frederick's penetration; and he determined without delay to resist encroachments not more exorbitant than dangerous. But before he could prudently or warrantably have recourse to arms, several preliminary measures seemed necessary. It was requisite that the duke of Deuxponts should protest against the treaty of Munich; and that the electress dowager of Saxony, who was sister to the late Maximilian Joseph, should claim her brother's allodial possessions; above all, the dispositions of the courts of St. Petersburg and Versailles, whose interference might have a weighty influence on the decision of the contest, were to be carefully examined and exactly ascertained. The elector of Saxony had already in right of his mother, preferred his just claim; but the court of Vienna deigned not even to honour him with an answer. The count Gartz, Frederick's minister, arrived seasonably at Munich, to stop the duke of Deuxponts on the brink of the precipice, from which he was ready to fall. To that young prince, Gartz represented, that he could not pos-

sibly

sibly derive any advantage from ratifying his uncle's treaty, whereas, by opposing that unlawful transaction, there was reason to hope that he might obtain in due time some part at least of his inheritance. The duke yielded to the force of conviction, made his protest formally, and wrote a letter to Frederick, craving his protection. The court of Berlin, being thus entrusted with the concerns of the two persons most interested in the Bavarian succession, was sufficiently authorised to set on foot a negotiation with Austria respecting that object; which Frederick might protract at pleasure, until he had thoroughly penetrated the designs of France and Russia.

Under pretence of ignorance, he asked to be informed by the Emperor concerning his title to Bavaria. Having patiently listened to his proofs, he began to hint doubts, and to allege the public law of the empire as well as the treaty of Westphalia, which had regulated the right of succession to that valuable dutchy. The sudden death of the elector had not allowed to the Austrian ministers time to prepare colours for varnishing their usurpation; their arguments were ill-contrived, and easily refuted. Meanwhile, the court of Versailles was founded, and it was discovered there, that notwithstanding the treaty with Austria, called

His negotiations with Austria, France, and Russia, 1778.

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the alliance of the great powers, which France was willing to maintain, and the influence of the young queen, sister to the emperor Joseph, which it became ministers to respect; yet, at bottom, the counsellors of Lewis XVI. beheld with regret the violation of the treaty of Westphalia, and the destruction of the system in Germany, which their predecessors had taken much pains to establish; and therefore would endeavour to preserve an apparent neutrality, while they secretly rendered Frederick every service in their power. This truckling tameness, which ill became the successors of Richelieu and Lewis XIV. proved that his Prussian Majesty had really assumed the balance which France still affected to hold. That provident monarch had cultivated the friendship of Russia with the most patient assiduity; but a renewal of hostilities with the Turks, which it was to be feared that the intrigues of the court of Vienna would endeavour to perpetuate, might prevent the Empress Catharine from fulfilling her good intentions. Yet, through the powerful mediation of France at the Porte, Frederick expected to accommodate the differences between the Russians and Turks, and thus to enable the former to afford him the assistance stipulated in the treaty of St. Petersburg. His principal difficulty consisted in negotiating with the Russian ministers, who

enter-

entertained but very imperfect notions of the Germanic constitution. He finally succeeded, however, in making them comprehend, that it was the interest of Russia to hinder the Emperor Joseph, who was only entitled to be the first prince in Germany, from governing that great empire with despotic authority.

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Meanwhile the Austrian troops were commanded to move towards Bohemia from Italy, Flanders, and Hungary; because prince Kaunitz continued to prefer the ambitious system of a young aspiring prince, to the pacific resolutions of his aged and infirm mistress. The approach of such formidable bodies of men to the frontiers of his dominions, obliged Frederick likewise to assemble his forces, which composed two armies, each 80,000 strong; the one commanded by his brother, prince Henry, and destined to guard the electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony; the other, conducted by himself, with a view to defend Silesia; and, when occasion offered, to penetrate into Moravia or Bohemia. Amidst these hostile preparations, several letters passed between the rival monarchs. His Imperial Majesty began this correspondence, seemingly with the design of justifying his pretensions to Bavaria, but really from a desire to gain time for strengthening his posts.

Correspondence
between
Frederick
and the
Emperor.

CHAP. VIII. posts. Frederick answered him politely but firmly, and while he maintained the most respectful decency in his language, refuted the Emperor's arguments in a manner as convincing as it was perspicuous. Joseph's next letter betrayed something of the acrimony of a defeated disputant. He speaks of the king's "long-winded discourse;" and says that he had learned so many other fine things from his Majesty, that were it not from regard for the precious blood of 400,000 brave men, he should be glad likewise to take his lessons in the art of war. To this defiance, Frederick replied, "Your Imperial Majesty has the goodness to jest with me. No, Sire, you need not a master. Such talents as yours will become any part. Lucullus, you remember, had never commanded an army, when the Roman senate sent him into Pontus. Yet he no sooner arrived there, than he conquered the experienced Mithridates. Let your Majesty obtain victories, I shall be the first to applaud them; provided only that they be not obtained at my expence." This royal negotiation, which began the 13th of April, was continued by the Austrian and Prussian ministers till the 4th of July; at which time both princes were ready to take the field,

In

In the operations which followed, the Prussians maintained their usual superiority. By his skillful marches, Frederick fell unexpectedly on Nachod, seized the fortress and magazines belonging to that place, and established the theatre of war in the enemy's country. Assured of the assistance of Russia as well as of the good offices of France, and willing to wait the issue of those jarring factions which divided the Imperial court, the prudence of his Majesty might decline to provoke danger, in order to hasten a decision. The Emperor, on the other hand, who could not expect to retain the possessions which he had violently seized, without the most distinguished military success, was challenged by interest as well as honour, to make the boldest exertions, and by defeating the enemies who had already declared against him, to intimidate those who were ready to reinforce their arms. But the inconsistency of Joseph, regardless of these considerations, kept the great Imperial army shut up behind the Elbe, between Kenigingratz and Arnau, in works so strong that they resembled a regularly fortified city. Marechal Laudohn, however, whose forces amounted to 50,000 men, hovered on the frontiers of Lusatia and Saxony. To oppose this threatened invasion, which might have compelled the Saxons to desert the cause of Bavaria and their own,

CHAP. VII
 Campaign in Bohemia, 1778.

own, prince Henry marched towards Dresden, and sent detachments to ravage the northern frontier of Bohemia. The king, meanwhile, was employed in foraging the eastern division of that kingdom; an operation which would enable him to take up his winter quarters in Silesia, without fear of being molested during that season by the enemy.

Maria
Theresa
negotiates
secretly
with Frederick.

In this manner, Bohemia was wasted by four great armies, when a stranger, who called himself the secretary of prince Gallizin, Russian ambassador at Vienna, arrived in the camp of Welford, and craved an audience of Frederick. This pretended secretary was Mr. Thugut, formerly Imperial ambassador at Constantinople. He presented to Frederick a letter from the Empress Queen, testifying her uneasiness at the troubles which had arisen, her anxiety for the safety of her son's person, and her earnest desire to discover some expedient by which all differences might be accommodated. Mr. Thugut's negotiation tended to gain Frederick's consent to the Emperor's usurpation of Bavaria, by offers extremely advantageous to Prussia. For this purpose, he observed that the court of Vienna, instead of opposing Frederick's eventual succession to the marquises of Bareuth and Anspach, would assist his Majesty in procuring

ing an exchange of those territories for countries nearer Brandenburg, such as Meclenburgh or Lusatia. Frederick replied, that the Imperial court seemed to consider as similar, two objects totally different, his own incontrovertible right of succession to Bareuth and Anspach, and the unlawful usurpation of Bavaria: That how well soever it might suit the convenience of Prussia, he would never *compel* any prince to exchange his possessions for those marquisates; an act of *violence* which he could not approve or abet. He added, that to prove to her Imperial Majesty his sincere desire of peace, he would make a proposal in writing which might serve for the basis of a treaty. Thugut offered his services as secretary; but Frederick, who trusted neither his style nor his intentions, wrote the conditions with his own hand; conditions, in which due attention was paid to the interests of all concerned in the Bavarian succession, and which were afterwards admitted by the peace of Teschen concluded in the following year. Thugut carried this writing to Vienna; and returned soon afterwards to Welsdorf, furnished by prince Kaunitz with a number of propositions as captious as they were obscure. The king, who foresaw that this negotiation must prove fruitless, and who was unwilling to enter into a tedious investigation with Mr. Thugut, referred that minister to his secretaries

CHAP. taries of state, Finck and Hertberg, who in a
 VII. few days sent him back to Vienna, hopeless of
 attaining the object of his commission. The Em-
 peror was extremely enraged at the discovery of
 his mother's negotiation. He immediately dis-
 patched a letter to that prince, declaring, that
 if she made peace on such terms as Prussia had
 proposed, he would retire to Aix-la-Chapelle,
 never to return to Vienna, and never to see her
 more. His brother, the Great Duke of Tuscany,
 had been sent to appease his anger; but this ex-
 pedient, from which much had been expected,
 produced no other effect, but that of setting at
 variance two brothers, who had hitherto lived on
 the most friendly terms.

Military
 successes
 of the
 Prussians,
 July and
 November
 1778.

Mr. Thugut's negotiation did not suspend the
 operations of the campaign, which, though un-
 productive of any great event, afforded an oppor-
 tunity to the prince royal of Prussia, his present
 Majesty, to distinguish himself by vigilance and
 activity, by skilful movements, and judicious dis-
 positions. The troops which he commanded, as
 well as several other Prussian detachments, gained
 advantages over those of the enemy; but the main
 design of his Majesty was to waste the Bohemian
 frontiers, and when that was accomplished, to re-
 tire into safe winter quarters. About the middle

of

of November, he returned to Breslaw, in order to make preparations for the ensuing campaign, and to carry on the negotiations which he had set on foot with foreign powers.

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The negotiation with Russia was the most interesting of all, because, from that country only, he could derive effectual aid. Through the mediation of France, he had persuaded the Grand Seignior to restore some Russian vessels seized in the Dardanelles, and to acknowledge the independence of the Crimea. The Empress Catharine had no sooner received this agreeable intelligence, than she caused her ministers to declare in her name, both at Ratisbon and Vienna, that unless the House of Austria removed the grievances of which the princes of the empire complained, she could not avoid fulfilling her engagements with his Prussian Majesty, and assisting him with such a reinforcement of troops, as had been mutually stipulated between them in the treaty of St. Peterburgh.

The Empress Catharine declares in favour of Frederick.

This event disconcerted prince Kaunitz, who had neglected to provide for it. The Emperor still imagined that the Turkish war would divert the hostility of Russia; and Maria Theresa had not only requested the mediation of France, but implored

Views of that prince.

CHAP. VII. implor'd the good offices of the Empress Catharine. The dispatch sent for this purpose to St. Petersburg, and the declaration of Russia, reach'd, nearly at the same time, the places of their respective destinations; a circumstance highly favourable to Frederick, since, had Maria Theresa's request been made more seasonably, the Empress Catharine might probably have withheld her declaration. Yet, his Majesty was not by any means averse to an accommodation with the court of Vienna, provided his allies obtained justice respecting their pretensions to Bavaria, and he himself were delivered from any farther chicane respecting his right of eventual succession to Anspach and Bearuth. The court of France, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, appear'd to Frederick not less interested than Prussia itself, in hindering the Emperor from keeping possession of a province, which would have enabled him to invade the king of Sardinia's dominions in Italy (an event much dreaded at Turin), or to recover the provinces of Lorraine and Alsace; a design which the ambitious Joseph was known to have much at heart. But Frederick observes, that a ministry without vigour, and a king who had not any fixed character, were not to be entrusted with the safety of the Germanic constitution. He therefore sent to Mr. Maurepas a memoir containing
such

such conditions of peace as might with propriety be admitted. This piece, which seemed necessary to guard the French ministry against the machinations of the court of Vienna, was employed by baron Breteuil, who now acted the part of Claude D'Avaux the French plenipotentiary at the treaty of Westphalia, as the basis of his negotiation with the Empress Queen, and admitted as such by that princess, notwithstanding the perpetual opposition of the Emperor.

The Russian prince Repnin arrived meanwhile at Breslaw; and instead of appearing as a general appointed to conduct a body of auxiliaries to the Prussian camp, affected the imperious tone of an arbiter sent to dictate laws to Germany. The Russian reinforcement was to amount to 16,000 men, whom Frederick purposed employing next campaign in Ludomeria and Gallicia; and from thence sending them, in conjunction with a Russian detachment, into Hungary and Transylvania, where the standard of the Empress Catharine would have been immediately joined by the superstitious and oppressed votaries of the Greek church. Frederick offered to abandon entirely to his allies the plunder of those rich countries. But this project was rejected by prince Repnin; who estimated the services of his reinforcement at

Exorbi-
tant pre-
tensions of
the Rus-
sians.

the

CHAP. VII. the enormous price of 2,000,000 of crowns, an annual drain, by far too exhausting for Prussia, especially when augmented by the subsidy of 500,000 crowns, which Frederick still paid the Empress Catharine, in consideration of the Turkish war, which she no longer carried on.

Plan of
pacifica-
tion sug-
gested by
Frede-
rick, and
proposed
by France,
January
1779.

The activity of baron Breteuil delivered his Prussian Majesty from the necessity of submitting for the public good to this onerous contract. Before the end of January, he sent to prince Repnin a plan of general pacification, coinciding with what his Prussian Majesty had proposed, and what the Empress Queen had approved. The principal conditions were, I. That the Upper Palatinate, and all Bavaria, except the Circle of Burghausen, should be restored by the Austrians to the Elector Palatine. II. That the right of succession to those territories should be declared vested in the duke of Deux Ponts. III. That, as a compensation for the allodial property in Bavaria, the elector of Saxony should obtain the sum of 6,000,000 of florins, by regular payments of 500,000 Florins annually. IV. That the court of Vienna should acknowledge Frederick's just title to the eventual succession of the marquisates of Anspach and Bareuth; and should never bring forward any more objections, or create any new difficulties on that subject.

When

When this plan of pacification was communi-
 cated to his Majesty's allies, the Saxons complain-
 ed loudly, that instead of 40,000,000 of crowns, to which they were justly entitled, they should only obtain 6,000,000; and the duke of Deux Ponts insisted that Bavaria ought not on any account to be dismembered. In favour of his allies, Frederick renewed his intercession at the court of Vienna; but prince Kaunitz declared that the Empress would rather sacrifice the last man in her army, than submit to conditions more humiliating than those already accepted. France desired peace, in order to free herself from the Emperor's solicitations for succours, in virtue of the treaty of Versailles; Russia was unwilling to be involved in a new war for the sake of her German allies; Frederick was not inclined once more to oppose the three greatest military powers of Europe. He endeavoured, therefore, to prove to the Saxons, that without the assistance of France, Russia, and Prussia, their elector, notwithstanding the justness of his demands, could not have obtained any compensation whatever from the court of Vienna; and that he ought therefore to rest satisfied with the sum which his allies had found great difficulty in procuring for him. The duke of Deux Ponts, again, was desired to remember that he had already lost three-fourths of Bavaria;

CHAP.
VII.Difficul-
ties at-
tending
this plan,
which
Frederick
endea-
vours to
obviate.

CHAP. VII. ria; and, on this account, ought to think himself very fortunate in recovering two thirds of that dutchy.

The pacific inclinations of Maria Theresa opposed by the Emperor Joseph.

During these negotiations, the war still raged on the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia. Soon after the declaration of Russia, the Emperor Joseph had availed himself of the perplexity of his mother, to engage her to sign an order for raising 80,000 new levies; affirming, that at such an important crisis, it was necessary to render the House of Austria formidable to all its enemies. The Prussians, however, not only defended their own territories, but maintained the ground which they had gained in Bohemia. The Austrian troops were distressed for want of pay; the provinces, exhausted by heavy contributions, could no longer bear the burdens imposed on them; the loans, obtained in Genoa, Amsterdam, and other commercial cities, neither answered the Emperor's expectation, nor supplied the public exigency; and his wisest counsellors perceived with much sorrow, that should he obstinately persist in the war, such general confusion must ensue, as threatened the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy. At this juncture, a courier whom Frederick had sent to St. Petersburg, returned with the Empress Catharine's approbation of the proposed terms of peace;

peace; and this dispatch was immediately commu-
 nicated by prince Repnin to baron Breteuil, at
 Vienna. The baron sent notice to his Majesty,
 that the Empress Queen had testified much satis-
 faction at this intelligence, and proposed immedi-
 ately assembling a congress at Teschen in Austrian
 Silesia, to complete the salutary work of pacifica-
 tion which she had so much at heart.

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In such circumstances, it is hardly credible, that
 a general Wallis with 10,000 men should have
 assaulted the town of Neustadt, which was garri-
 soned with two Prussian regiments. His grenades
 set fire to the place, and destroyed 240 houses:
 but the garrison held firm, and the Prussian de-
 tachments in that neighbourhood having advanced
 seasonably to defend Neustadt, repelled the assail-
 ants, and pursued them to Zuckmantel.

His un-
 successful
 measures
 for pre-
 venting a
 peace.

This enterprize had been planned by the Empe-
 ror, who flattered himself that he should render
 Frederick implacable by destroying one of his
 towns. But in this supposition his Imperial Ma-
 jesty was much disappointed. Maria Theresa
 desired a suspension of hostilities. Her request was
 immediately complied with. The Prussians, for
 the convenience of subsistence, extended their
 quarters; and his Majesty, who was at Breslaw

Congress
 at Tes-
 chen,
 March
 1772.

CHAP.

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the 6th of March, agreed that a congress should be held at Teschen, and named Mr. Riedesel for his plenipotentiary. The ministers of Russia, of Saxony, of the Elector Palatine, and of the duke of Deux Ponts, arrived successively at Breslaw, and from thence proceeded to Teschen, in which place they were joined by the baron Breteuil and Mr. Cobenzel, who respectively represented the courts of Versailles and Vienna.

Peace of
Teschen,
May 13,
1779.

By the Emperor's contrivance, the negotiation was perplexed, and its conclusion retarded for more than six weeks. The Elector Palatine refused granting any satisfaction to Saxony, and declared that rather than pay 6,000,000 of crowns to that court, he would adhere to his preceding engagement with the House of Austria. The minister of the duke of Deux Ponts insisted, as formerly, on the indivisibility of Bavaria. Prince Repnin spoke with the authority becoming the representative of the Empress Catharine; and baron Breteuil displayed that dignity which the ministers of Lewis XIV. had assumed in the midst of his triumphs. Yet their multiplied conferences with the German ministers produced not any decisive resolution, until a courier arrived, the 20th of April, at Vienna, from Constantinople, with the news of a peace between the Russians and the Turks.

Turks. This important intelligence, which proved that Catharine's declaration against Austria was not an empty boast, bent the obstinacy of the young Emperor. The play of his machines, for disturbing the negotiation from that moment ceased, and in the space of fifteen days, a treaty was concluded on the terms formerly specified; and signed at Teschen the 13th of May, Maria Theresa's birth-day. Thus ended, not indeed a war, but rather an armed negotiation; and thus did Frederick's firmness resist the Emperor's ambition, and dispel the alarming dangers which threatened to subvert the constitution of the Empire, and to destroy the independence of the princes of Germany.

THE peace of Teschen is the last memorable event which his Majesty found leisure to record. Yet to conclude the history of his reign with this transaction, important and useful as it was, would be robbing his memory of its fairest honours. His sword had been drawn for the last time to assert justice, and secure peace; and these purposes being effectually obtained, the seven remaining years of his life were applied with undivided attention to the encouragement of useful industry, and the advancement of national happiness. Frugal in his

Frederick's
munifi-
cence and
discern-
ment.

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VII.

domestic oeconomy, he was generous to the public; and with what he spared from the ostentatious vanity of the court, he cherished the salutary labours of the country. To enumerate his yearly benefactions, has been the task of his virtuous and able minister count Hertzberg, at an annual solemnity of the Academy of Berlin, to celebrate the birth-day of its patron; but, in an historical work, it may be sufficient to observe, that from the peace of Teschen till his death, Frederick regularly increased his disbursements for the improvement or embellishment of his dominions. The sum total of this unparalleled munificence, exceeding eight millions sterling, was advanced without the imposition of any one new tax, and bestowed without the prospect of any other return, than (that which is indeed the best a prince can receive) the affectionate gratitude of his people. Yet the vast extent of his royal bounty is less worthy of admiration, than the singular discernment with which it was conferred. Fond of glory, but convinced that no true glory can be attained without labour, Frederick with painful diligence examined the minurest wheels of the political machine; and as his vigilance was always awake, so his hand was always ready, to repair the waste of time, and remove the obstructions of accident. By his reasonable interposition, the government, which can alone produce great

great engine of state was made not only to move easily, and to play regularly, but to exert its utmost force; a force, extraordinary and unexampled, which in the space of forty-seven years produced a new power in Europe, capable of vying with kingdoms which had been the consolidated growth of twelve successive centuries.

The merit of great men has been often depreciated by the envy of contemporaries, and overlooked by the indifference of posterity. But, from the visible and happy revolution which Frederick's exertions effected, it may reasonably be presumed, that his reign, which does honour to monarchy itself, will for ever serve as an instructive lesson to the sovereigns of the earth, encourage their industry, or upbraid their indolence, but prove that the worst indolence is that of being active to no useful purpose. While in other nations, and those infinitely more favoured than the Prussians in the partition of natural advantages, the great springs which move and direct national exertion, and promote national greatness, were repressed by the weight of cumbersome regulations, and even the abstract principles of political oeconomy perplexed in the intricacy of delusive or incomplete theories, that illustrious prince discerned and reduced to practice those sublime yet simple rules of government, which can alone produce or maintain

Analysis
of national
prosperity.



maintain *public prosperity*. That great and complex object which some authors have considered as relative to the perfection of agriculture, together with the abundance and value of natural productions; and others have regarded as proportional to the refinement of arts and the fruits of industry; and a third class of politicians, with more dignity at least if not more justness, have appreciated by the ardour of martial spirit, and the elevation of national character,—may be analysed, not by arbitrary suppositions, but by the experience of history, into the five following particulars; subsistence, defence, physical and moral improvement, enjoyment, and the assured permanence, as far as human affairs admit security, of those important advantages. Under each of these heads, we shall examine the happy alteration effected during Frederick's reign, convinced that to compare the dissimilar conditions of Prussia at his accession and demise, and to explain the means by which this difference was produced, is one of the noblest subjects that civil science can boast.

Its different
branches
improved
by Frederick I.
As to subsistence.

To describe the operations which afforded great military or great political results, often resembles explaining the machinery by which the decorations of a theatre are moved and varied. The effect is grand, simple, and striking; the means employed

to attain it, are minute and intricate, ungrateful to the sight, and perplexing to the understanding. From such a contemplation, the giddy eye of superficial ignorance turns with impatient disgust; and the attention even of intelligent curiosity cannot be long arrested by the explainer, without much perspicuity of arrangement, and much accuracy of deduction. But so natural and so consistent, so skilfully contrived, and so nicely adapted, was Frederick's political system, that its parts arrange themselves spontaneously; and to explain its principles, we need do little more than exhibit its effects. At his accession to the throne, the Prussians cannot be said to have enjoyed the means either of subsistence or security, since Frederick William, who had raised an army and formed a treasury, had prepared those engines of greatness, by grinding his subjects, who lost annually a large sum by the unfavourable balance of trade, and whose productive industry did not correspond to their national consumption. A soil naturally barren was negligently cultivated; the coarsest arts only were exercised or understood; and the sands and marshes of Brandenburg were compressed on the one side by the fertile dutchy of Silesia, and intercepted from the sea on the other side, by the valuable coast of Pomerellia. By asserting his pretensions to those provinces, which, according to the Prussian memorials, had remained

unclaimed

CHAP. VII. unclaimed only through the imbecillity or tameness of his ancestors, Frederick provided, in the fruitfulness of Silesia, and the maritime situation of Pomerellia, such securities for his people in the great article of subsistence, as no other kingdom can boast; since, in consequence of this latter extension of his frontier, the whole commerce of Poland, which is justly considered as the granary of Europe, must pass through his Majesty's dominions, which can never suffer by scarcity, while the Poles have grain to spare.

His improvements in agriculture.

Yet these invaluable acquisitions, which might have lulled the confidence of a warrior, that by war aimed only at conquest, excited the activity of Frederick, who, in his conquests, aimed only at public happiness. By his unexampled liberality, and indefatigable diligence in the encouragement of agriculture, we behold in his dominions, alone barren lands converted into vegetable mould, or overshadowed with lofty forests. At his expence, the seeds of lucerne, trefoil, and lupin, which in the course of thirty years have changed the face of Germany, were distributed gratuitously to all who applied for them. The stimulation of bounties and premiums was employed with judgment, and success; new articles of produce and new modes of culture were introduced; and in every province,

provinces, immense storehouses were erected and replenished, which served alternately as magazines in time of war, and granaries in seasons of scarcity. In the miserable famine of 1772, which afflicted the richest principalities of Germany, the Prussians alone neither felt want nor incurred expence; since the opening of the king's stores kept the price of grain at the usual level. By inclosing commons, Frederick greatly benefited his country; and as he purchased at an ample price the rights of commonage, he urged the hand of industry, and invigorated the exertions of health, without exciting the complaint of infirmity, or incurring the curse of despair.

From his extensive *demesne*, which comprehended nearly one third of the Prussian territory, that generous prince separated innumerable farms, which were granted for an annual *redemption* or contribution, in hereditary possession, to industrious individuals. His financiers objected to this regulation, which, by subdividing estates, multiplied the tenants and families to be maintained on them, and thereby diminished the rents which their cultivators, when less numerous, could afford to pay. But his Majesty disdained this objection, feeling, that to a king, an increase of populousness is an augmentation of wealth; and knowing, that

CHAP. VII.

Judicious distribution of farms.

farms

CHAP.

VII.



farms are certainly too small, when the peasant, as in many provinces of France, can afford neither the implements nor the means of agriculture; but that they are as certainly too large, when the superabundance of fertile soil prevents an attention to contiguous pieces of land, less promising indeed and less grateful, but not altogether incapable of improvement. Not only to produce much, but to produce much within a narrow compass; not only to have numerous subjects, but to enrich and strengthen his dominions by a dense population, was the favourite object of Frederick's enlightened policy; and although the exact magnitude of a farm, which in different countries is relative to a variety of different circumstances, cannot be precisely defined, yet, that the just proportion has been nearly approximated in the Prussian dominions, evidently appears, not only from the small quantity of ground that remains neglected, but from the great annual exportation, amounting in value to 2,000,000 of crowns, made by a kingdom, narrow in extent, and naturally unfertile.

He ex-
tends ma-
nufac-
tures;

Agriculture, that first of arts, in which nature labours in concert with man, of which the fruits are the most useful, and of which the exercise is the most salutary, has in all well-governed states been the most favoured branch of industry. In

Frede-

Frederick's political oeconomy, it held the principal, but not an exclusive, place. By his discerning encouragement, the linen and woollen manufactures of Silesia and Brandenburg were greatly improved, and their produce augmented to the annual value of 3,000,000*l.* sterling. Besides thus extending the old manufactures, many new ones were introduced, particularly the working of cotton, silk, porcelain, sugar, leather, and especially of the mines; which, taken together, make the annual amount of national industry fall little short of 40,000,000 of crowns. Nearly one half of the Prussian manufactures is consumed at home; and the exportation of the other half brings annually into the country above three millions sterling; a sum which, as Prussia requires not any thing from abroad but the article of wine, the raw materials of some branches of manufacture, and a few inconsiderable objects of luxury, leaves a great commercial balance in favour of that kingdom.

By Frederick's conquests, his dominions were extended 320 English miles along the Baltic, and adorned by flourishing sea-ports. Naturally intersected by the Elbe, the Pregel, and the Vistula, their inland navigation was artificially improved by joining these great rivers to each other, as well

Increases
com-
merce,
revenue,
and popu-
lousness.

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VII.

as to the Oder, the Havel, and the Sprey. Thirteen hundred Prussian vessels annually pass the Sound; and in consequence of these improvements, and an increasing commerce, lands rose greatly in value, and the interest of money fell from six to four per cent. Attentive only to augment the national resources, Frederick neither mispent his own time in devising, nor misemployed the labour of his subjects in collecting, taxes. At his demise the public revenues, which had been the spontaneous growth of industry and frugality, exceeded four millions sterling; and his kingdom contained six millions of persons. In 1784, the births were 211,113; the burials, 152,040; and the surplus of births, therefore, 59,073 a surplus which no kingdom, equally limited in magnitude, can boast.

2. As to
defence :
constitu-
tion of the
Prussian
army.

The sword, which by the warlike nations of antiquity was considered and employed as the principal instrument of revenue, has been transformed, in modern times, into the chief conduit of expence. Frederick, who revived so many obsolete but valuable maxims, restored also to the profession of arms its former dignity and utility. With his scanty income, he raised and maintained a military force, which, under the coarseness of vulgar management, would soon exhaust the re-
sources

sources of the mightiest monarchies. His army in time of peace exceeded 200,000 men, amply provided with arms and ammunition, furnished with artillery, supplied with magazines, and always ready to march. Besides less considerable places of arms, his dominions contained fifteen great garrisons, which, if governed with that mercenary profusion which estimates wealth by expence, and honour by wealth, would alone be sufficient to consume the whole revenues of Prussia. But of this vast army, the far greater portion consisted of the industrious sons of peasants, of the hardy artificers in wood or metal, and of other laborious and frugal workmen, who joined their regiments in the months of April and May, to be exercised in military evolutions, and afterwards returned to their respective districts, to cultivate the ground, or practise their ordinary professions. Even the foreigners in his Majesty's service, who were employed chiefly in garrisons, performed military duty only during two days in the week; the remaining five days were their own, during which the industrious (and the eye of the master rendered all industrious) sought employment, and never failed to find it. By intermarriages with Prussian women, these strangers soon acquired the attachments and habits of natives. Each regiment contained more women and children than soldiers.

The

CHAP. The garrison of Berlin, which consisted of 24,000

VII. men, comprehended 60,000 persons; and at a

moderate computation, the whole army formed a military colony exceeding 400,000 in number.

This colony, instead of being collected into one unwieldy mass, was judiciously distributed through every province, and almost every parish and every village. Its pay, amounting to two thirds of the revenue of the state, was regularly returned to the several districts from which it originally flowed.

This perpetual circulation maintained public prosperity. The subject contributed punctually; the foldier was punctually paid; neither the one nor the other knew the name of arrears.

Its advantages.

The great Prussian army, which, instead of exhausting the representative, increased the real riches of the state, not only secures the permanence of this newly formed monarchy, but (a thing strange, yet true) has a powerful tendency to render wars less frequent and less ruinous. In several instances recorded in the preceding narrative, the military movements of Frederick defeated with little bloodshed the ambitious designs of his enemies; and one example will still occur, in which, by merely brandishing the sword, he maintained the peace of Germany, and prevented a

conflagration there, which must have finally involved the remotest countries of Europe.

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VII.

To provide the means of subsistence and defence is, doubtless, the first duty of a king who deserves the honourable appellation of *shepherd of his people*: the language of an age, which ignorance has affected to despise, and vanity attempted to deride, yet in which the true principles of limited monarchy (the most ancient and most natural of all governments) were clearly ascertained, and manfully asserted. To feed, and to defend, applies equally to a nation and to a flock; but men have higher demands on their royal pastor. Their physical and moral powers are susceptible of improvement; and that prince who neglects to improve them, is wanting in his duty. Yet, in the fashionable systems of modern politicians, national wealth is regarded as synonymous with national happiness. To the increase of productive industry, and the augmentation of public revenue, both health and education are sacrificed without scruple. Children are prematurely condemned to ignoble and distorting toil; and that trade which produces most money is always held the best,—as if there were not an essential difference between the wholesome labours of the field, and the pining restraints of sedentary drudgery. Where wealth

3. His attention to the physical and moral improvement of his subjects.

is

CHAP. is the primary object of desire, luxury will afford
 VII. the principal source of enjoyment; and to gratify
 the demands of one part of the community, heavy
 burdens must be imposed on the other. But these
 impositions, however oppressive, will not long suf-
 fice to defray the extravagance of government,
 and to supply the expences of individuals, enhanc-
 ed by the exorbitance of taxes. One difficulty
 will succeed to another; and while mercenary de-
 claimers perplex, mercenary traders will sophis-
 ticate; till, amidst envied enjoyments, and boasted
 refinements, there hardly remains a single maxim
 that is not fraught with error, or a single article
 that is not mixed with poison. Yet such is the
 efficacy of the natural advantages of fertility of
 soil and of local situation, and such the real im-
 portance of manufactures and industry, that, not-
 withstanding the greatest moral corruptions, a
 commercial nation may not only continue to ex-
 ist, but even *seem* to flourish.

His regu-
 lations and
 exertions
 for those
 purposes.

The condition of the Prussian dominions was
 totally the reverse. Instead of natural advantages,
 it was necessary to change nature, to drain mar-
 shes, to open forests, to stop the inundations of
 rivers, and to repair the ravages of the pestilence.
 Until these obstacles were removed, many dis-
 tricts could not be inhabited with safety to health;
 which

which great object his Majesty further consulted, CHAP.
 by restraining the importation of foreign luxuries, VII.
 and causing his police to watch with a vigilant
 eye, that the fare of his subjects, however coarse
 and simple, should be at least such as the bounty
 of Providence had given it; pure from foreign
 admixture, and composed of materials destined
 for human nourishment. Idle pretenders to the
 art of healing were dismissed with ridicule and
 contempt, and their dangerous nostrums prohi-
 bited from sale under severe penalties. Temper-
 ance and frugality, the great safeguards of health,
 were not only enforced as moral duties, but re-
 warded as public virtues; and though every
 branch of useful industry was encouraged, yet the
 encouragement of different branches varied in
 proportion, not merely to their commercial bene-
 fits, but to their salutary, or at least innocent, ef-
 fects. By this attention, his Majesty obtained a
 double aim; and while he consulted the health of
 his people, provided a seminary for his army. The
 robust peasants and hardy workmen employed at
 the forge or in the mine, supplied soldiers of a
 very different stamp from the refuse of those seden-
 tary professions, that feed the caprice of fashion,
 or administer to the service of luxury.

Did not be induced to luxury.

CHAP.

VII

His diligence in providing good instructors for all ranks of persons.

In the important concern of education, Frederick employed his peculiar care, and exerted his utmost diligence. Having made a new kingdom, he determined to make new men; and his success was so happy, that the appellation of Prussia, which, at his accession, had been a term of reproach, became, long before his demise, an epithet of honour. As language is the great bond which connects, as well as the chief badge that distinguishes, the nations of the earth, his Majesty spared neither pains nor cost, to allure instructors from Saxony, the principal seat of German elegance, who might reform the barbarity of his Prussians, equally contemptible for the impurity of their dialect, and the grossness of their manners. By his munificence and encouragement, that profession which is the most laborious and the most useful, but which vulgarity will never be inclined to respect, nor niggardliness willing to reward, was rendered both lucrative and honourable; and his uninterrupted attention through the whole course of his reign, to what vanity and folly will regard as a very humble object of royal care, produced benefits as extensive, as they promise to be permanent.

He receives and protects the Jesu-

Frederick, as the common father of all his subjects, procured for his peasants schoolmasters from Saxony;

Saxony; while the more distinguished orders of society, and of those the most conspicuous for talents and industry, were trained under his immediate eye, and provided with the ablest instructors from France and Italy. That enlightened prince disdained the vulgar objection, that he preferred strangers to natives; he preferred knowledge to ignorance, and refinement to barbarity; and it was for the improvement of his Germans, that he spared neither pains, nor money, nor flattery, to engage learned and ingenious foreigners to fix their residence in his dominions. This great object had long occupied his attention, when an order of monks, singular in its origin, and more singular in its progress, uniting knowledge with bigotry, craft with enthusiasm, and concealing under the mask of Christian humility, the ardour of enterprise and the spirit of ambition, alarmed the jealousy of kings and ministers, and excited the envy of poets and academicians. The tyranny of a Pombal, the superstition of a Charles III. and the terror of a Lewis XV. conspired with the wit of a Voltaire, and the sophistry of a D'Alembert, to persecute and destroy the Jesuits; of all religious orders, doubtless, the most ambitious and the most daring; but, at the same time, the most learned, the most decent, and the most useful. To these unhappy and persecuted men, whose de-

CHAP. VII.
its, contrary to the advice of his literary friends.

He is
celebrated
the Jesuits

D d 2

gradation

CHAP.

VII.

graduation was felt the more sensibly in proportion to the exaltation of their former state; Frederick opened a welcome and secure asylum. In the business of education, their unrivalled merit had been long and universally acknowledged. As instructors of youth, his Majesty deemed them a most valuable acquisition; and when the sententious D'Alembert, whose boasted philosophy never reached the heart, endeavoured to dissuade him from protecting an order of monks, who had surpassed the activity of all the remaining Catholic priesthood, in their intrigues for ruining his affairs during the septennial war, Frederick returned an answer, that will for ever distinguish him above his literary correspondents, whose intellectual talents he could admire, while he disdained their littleness of soul. He acknowledges that the Jesuits had done him many ill offices, but avows, "That where no offence has been given, no clemency can be exercised; and you surely," (addressing the pretended philanthropy of D'Alembert) "will not reproach me for doing acts of kindness, and returning good for evil, to men of all professions and of all religions. At this age of the world, it is time to practise philosophy, and to restrain speculation. Good deeds are more useful to the public than refined theories and ingenious systems."

By

By the same liberal principle, his Majesty regulated his encouragement of men of merit, and his protection of useful arts. During his whole reign, royal munificence to learning shone in its full lustre. History and the Belles Lettres formed his peculiar department; but he knew that it became a prince, to promote and remunerate the successful cultivation of every branch of knowledge. Ignorant of Greek, and ignorant of geometry beyond the bare elements, he equally rewarded the erudition of a D'Argens and a Bitaubé, and the mathematical and physical improvements of a Euler, a Maupertuis, and a La Grange. Each succeeding year was distinguished by the discovery of new objects of discerning bounty; and as his Majesty advanced in life, he felt still more deeply the importance of education. "I try all means," he says, "to reform or prevent abuses, and labour continually to improve the universities, the colleges, and even the village schools. Thirty years must elapse before the Prussians can expect to reap the full fruits of my industry. But posterity will enjoy them; and I already enjoy, by anticipation, the pleasure of procuring for my country this inestimable advantage."

When

CHAP. VII.

His liberal yet discerning munificence for promoting the interests of letters and improving the means of education.

CHAP.
VII.4. Asto
enjoy-
ment.

When men are nourished, defended, and educated, much doubtless has been done; yet all this may be done for the sole benefit of a master. Under the oppressive aristocracies of Greece and Rome, two thirds of the human species were condemned to servitude; and of these numerous slaves, many were polished by arts, and many cultivated by science. The interest of those, whose property they were, abundantly provided for their subsistence and defence; and their agreeable qualities of mind or body often shared, and often enlivened, their masters enjoyments. Yet with all these advantages, they were as completely miserable as wretches liable, at every moment, to be the sports of caprice, or the victims of cruelty. Equally miserable would be the condition of the Prussians, were their government really that military despotism which it has sometimes appeared to careless spectators, when viewed through the delusive medium of ignorance or prejudice. But upon a more accurate examination, we shall find that Frederick thought nothing done for his subjects, unless he procured them *enjoyment*, and that enjoyment could never be complete, unless accompanied by *liberty*. The meaning of that word has been infinitely varied; and there are not any two nations in ancient or modern times, who used it precisely in the same sense. Yet all are, or ought

The Prus-
sian go-

to

to be, agreed, that to constitute civil liberty, there must be equal laws, and those impartially executed; that justice must be promptly, equitably, and cheaply administered; and that the nation at large should be entitled to express its sense of public measures, and to confine the exertions of executive power within the sphere of public good. As to the first parts of this description, the Prussian government will be found to possess very distinguished advantages. The laws of Frederick are not only good and just, but being made by a man who knew the power of words, are short, determinate, and easily understood. Of the law's obscurity, expensiveness, or delay, there is less occasion to complain than in any kingdom on earth; and during the greater part of his reign, after he had reformed his courts of justice, there scarcely occur, in a space of thirty years, three instances of legal oppression.

Yet it may possibly be alleged that the Prussians, however well they were governed, enjoyed not any share in the public administration, and could not therefore feel themselves much interested in the public good. But in this argument, the assumption is false, and the consequences erroneous. In his various dominions, Frederick acknowledged with pleasure the states of each province: they

CHAP.
VII.

government
not despo-
tic.

Its true
nature and
principle.

met

CHAP. met regularly at stated times, in national assemblies; he consulted them on matters of general legislation; listened patiently to their advice; committed to them the administration of their internal government, and entrusted them with the collection of their provincial contributions. These institutions, which his Prussian Majesty introduced and confirmed, represent not the image of a military despotism, but rather breathe the genuine spirit of just monarchy, which of all governments promises the greatest share of public happiness, and which was immemorially established in that warlike division of Germany, between the Vistula and the Elbe (the present centre of the Prussian power), from which the European nations have derived the liberal and manly portion of their political system. The generous seeds of freedom, having thus revived in their native soil, may be expected long to flourish, and although it will be regretted by those who themselves enjoy liberty in its full extent, that this patriot king did not crown his great work, and, enforcing manners by law, render that constitutional and unalterable, which is in some measure casual and arbitrary; yet with the education which that extraordinary man gave the princes of his family, a king of *Prussia* cannot be suspected of wishing to govern despotically; and should he ever entertain that mad project, it is

himself

boldly

boldly insinuated by a Prussian minister of state, CHAP. VII.
 that considering the sentiments and principles with
 which Frederick inspired his subjects, such an un-
 worthy successor could not hope to enjoy a peace-
 ful or durable reign.

In analysing national prosperity, liberty seems
 a component part, because without liberty there
 cannot be security, and without security there
 cannot be enjoyment. To insure the faithful exe-
 cution of just laws, it is necessary that the people
 at large should have an influence in enacting and
 administering them; but the degree to which that
 influence should extend, and the mode in which
 it should be exerted, are circumstances concerning
 which no two political writers are perfectly agreed.
 The different forms, therefore, of just govern-
 ment (for despotism or tyranny is an abuse, whe-
 ther it be exercised by one or ten thousand) must
 be relative to the national character; and opinion,
 to which all human concerns are subordinate, will
 render that system good in one country, which
 would be bad in another. To men pampered
 with indulgence, and intoxicated with wealth,
 whose freedom of action too often degenerates into
 injury, and whose freedom of speech not uncom-
 monly ends in insult, where, even of the higher
 ranks, many of the young can only be entertained

The hap-
 piness of
 the Prus-
 sians.

amidst

CHAP.

VII.

amidst scenes of unlicensed petulance; and many of the old can only be roused by the destructive stimulants of politics and of play, it will not be easy to comprehend what can be the enjoyments of a nation, whose point of honour is obedience, whose pleasures are purchased by toil, and whose frugal luxuries are seasoned by habitual temperance, whose amusement and delight consist in the performance of their civil and military duties, and whose dearest reward is the approbation of their superiors. To appreciate exactly the relative enjoyments of individuals, who act from different motives, and aspire to different ends, is impossible; because, where no similarity prevails, no comparison can be made. But in estimating national felicity, and particularly that of Prussia, we may be assisted by two considerations equally important and palpable. If happiness consist in action, that nation cannot be miserable, whose unceasing transactions have been always prosperous. A people who in the course of forty years triple their population, and triple their revenues, whose operations, domestic and foreign, have been crowned with unexampled success, who, amidst the greatest and most glorious wars recorded in modern history, have improved their agriculture and extended their manufactures to a degree almost incredible, and who from obscurity and contempt

proved by
their per-
severing
and prof-
perous ex-
ertions,

tempt have risen to the highest rank of national renown, must both collectively and individually have been employed in such a perpetual series of persevering and prosperous exertion, as could not fail, notwithstanding the occasional calamities of war, to afford an extraordinary balance in favour of public happiness. That the Prussians enjoyed this happiness, and referred it to its true cause, the wisdom and virtue of their king, appears from events, the history of which might serve to revive the obsolete virtue of patriotism, and to teach the true duties of citizens, to those who have long branded the Prussians as slaves.

The unfortunate battle of Kolin, in 1757, left the provinces of Pomerania and Brandenburg destitute of defence. A body of 20,000 Swedes advanced towards Stettin, from which they intended to invade and ravage the centre of the Prussian monarchy. In this emergency, the states of Pomerania assembled speedily and spontaneously, and raised a body of 5000 infantry with a proportional number of hussars. Their generous example was followed by the states of Brandenburg; and these bodies of volunteers, who continually increased in number, served not only to defend the fortresses of Colberg and Kustrin, and to protect the cities of Magdebourg and Stettin during the whole course

and by
their dis-
tinguished
patrio-
tism.

CHAP.
VII.

course of the septennial war, but also to supply the waste of seven successive campaigns; and being seasonably mixed with the standing forces, contributed more to Frederick's victories, than all the mercenaries in his service. In every province and every district, societies and individuals exerted their utmost efforts to oppose foreign domination. In Prussian Lithuania, president Domhardt preserved the king's studs by distributing them among the peasants; and employed the whole revenues of his province in repairing the villages burnt by the Russians. When the king's army wanted horses, Mr. Blumenthal presented his Majesty with 4000 horses at one time, from the inhabitants of Magdeburgh, and Halberstadt: and in the districts of Minden and Ravensberg, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, the inhabitants expelled with disgrace the deserters of their prince in the moment of his difficulties, and compelled them by threats or force to join their respective regiments. It belongs to nations, who boast the pre-eminence of their political institutions, to rival the virtues of the Prussians in defending their king and country.

Circum-
stances
which se-
cure the

The regulations which have formed, and the principles which inspire, that docile, orderly, yet manly and high-minded, people, have been too deeply

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VII.

deeply implanted, and too widely diffused, to be soon or easily eradicated. From considering these principles alone, it would be reasonable to predict the duration of the monarchy; yet on this subject I speak not with confidence; my work has hitherto been historical, and I wish not to wander in the field of conjecture. In the first transactions of his reign, the virtues of his present Majesty have stood the most trying comparison, and worthily upheld the renown of his illustrious predecessor. But the happiness of a nation requires the assurance of greater stability than a single life can afford; and even under this general aspect, the Prussians enjoy very probable grounds of hope, that their condition will be as permanent as it is prosperous. By the acquisitions which Frederick made (and which his successor has used the wisest means to maintain), their territories are enlarged to that just extent, which is proved by the experience of history to be the best adapted to foreign exertion and domestic tranquillity. There is a variable yet limited magnitude, within the bounds of which the springs of the political machine are found to act with energy, and its wheels to move with harmony. Enlarged or diminished beyond this due proportion, kingdoms are liable to perish, through internal derangement, or external violence. Against both these evils Frederick provided, by augmenting and consolidating

stability
of Prus-
sian
greatness
and prof-
perity.

the

CHAP. VII. the great body of his monarchy, which (except a few detached districts that will probably be exchanged for others more conveniently situate) extends between the Pregel, the Vistula, the Elbe, and the Baltic, containing fifty thousand square miles of well cultivated soil, communicating with the sea, and intersected by great rivers joined by navigable canals, as well as enriched by increasing industry employed on objects of the first necessity, and therefore not liable to decay or diminution, through the introduction of rival manufactures, or the caprice of fashion. From the well-authenticated accounts, which prove that the annual births in Prussia exceed the annual burials by the number of nearly 60,000, many years must elapse, and dreadful calamities must happen, before the prosperity of such a kingdom can become retrograde, or even stationary; and as this flourishing monarchy enjoys an intermediate situation among the three great continental powers, France, Austria, and Russia, the mutual jealousy of its neighbours must conspire to strengthen its security.

Frederick
defeats
the Em-
peror's
ambition
by the
Germanic

But Frederick, disdaining preservation, as the sole object of his policy, had aspired to a nobler aim; and availing himself of the advantages which local situation gave him, boldly assumed the balance, had resisted encroachments, and checked usurpation.

This

This arduous task he renewed in his 74th year, afflicted by old age, the gout, and the dropsy. The ambitious Joseph, who deeply regretted the peace of Teschen, endeavoured to recover possession of Bavaria, by tempting the Elector Palatine with the offer of a crown, and the sovereignty of the Austrian Netherlands, under the revived denomination of the kingdom of Austrasia. This alarming project, which was totally inconsistent with the faith of treaties, and which, if successful, would have given the Dutch a very dangerous neighbour, and enabled the Emperor to boast that the vast extent of the Danube flowed through his provinces, was opposed by Frederick, and defeated, not by arms, but by the foresight, wisdom, and firmness of that accomplished prince. The house of Austria renounced for ever this formidable design; and the Germanic union, an alliance merely defensive, concluded at Berlin, the 23d of July 1785, between the king of Great Britain, his Prussian Majesty, and the Elector of Saxony, placed the tranquillity of Germany on a firmer basis than any on which it had ever before stood. To the same salutary treaty, Bavaria, Hesse, the margrave of Anspach and Bareuth, many electors and many princes, gradually acceded; and Frederick spent his few remaining months in consolidating this work of peace.

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union concluded July 23, 1785.

As

CHAP. VII. As he had chosen the best mode of life, custom had rendered it the most agreeable. Till his dying day, he never interrupted his habitual exertions for the public good; rising at four in the morning, and employing many hours successively with his three principal secretaries, in the three departments, of foreign affairs, domestic government, and the army; and dictating answers to letters and petitions from his subjects or strangers. The governor of Potsdam then entered, and received verbal orders respecting the daily duty of the garrison. It was not till he had discharged these great offices of a king, that he admitted a surgeon, and sometimes a physician, for a few minutes, though he was so swollen with the dropfy, that he could not move from his chair, on which he at last remained day and night, because he could not breathe in bed. His hours of such recreation as his condition admitted, were spent in the company of the counts Hertzberg, Swerin, Gortz, and the amiable and accomplished count Luchefini (who will accept this testimony of my remembrance), with whom he conversed on ancient and modern history, on the news of the day, on literature and the arts, and above all, on his favourite subjects of gardening and rural œconomy; uniformly preserving the same serene and tranquil countenance, and never betraying the smallest

His
death,
August
17, 1786;

smallest symptom of bodily pain or mental uneasiness. On the 16th of August, he dictated dispatches which would have done honour to the most accomplished secretary; and on the day following, while his friends read to him select passages from Cicero and Plutarch, which he had marked with his own hand, his ears ceased from hearing, his eyes became dim, and he died in a few hours without any convulsive motion.

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Such was Frederick, whose reign forms the prominent feature, and whose character, to the latest ages, will form the distinguished ornament, of the eighteenth century. His mind, I hope, has been described in the preceding narrative. As to his person (for respecting such a man, even trifles are important), he was of a delicate habit, a slight make, and a low stature; his body bending forward, and inclining to one side. His complexion was fair, his features prominent, his aspect dignified and serene; but his countenance in old age had contracted something of sternness; which being mixed however with sensibility, appeared evidently to proceed from the habitual sensation of a painful malady, not from severity of character. In a still unengaged attitude, neither moved by external impulse, nor agitated by internal emotion, his appearance was interesting,

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though

CHAP. though sedate; but he no sooner entered into
VII. conversation, than his features animated and
brightened, became infinitely moveable and inimitably expressive, varying with every shade of sentiment, from the firmest fortitude to the most affecting tenderness. I saw him for the last time in his seventy-third year, in the midst of his admiring court, dressed in his blue uniform, and in boots, both covered with dust; for he had spent the whole morning on horseback, reviewing 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Berlin. On that occasion, his conversation with the foreign ministers turned chiefly on Spalanzani's Physical Experiments, then a new subject, and surely a most interesting one, since they relate to nothing less than the perpetuation of men and animals. His Majesty's observations marked his philosophical turn of mind and habitual gaiety of temper: but in a grave work, I should not be forward to repeat all his remarks; because Frederick, who disdained the affectation, and despised the frivolity, sometimes neglected the decencies, of modern manners. His mind, indeed, had been cast in a mold, which, if I may use the expression, nature had long forgotten to use. His ardour of enterprise, and perseverance of execution, his unremitting vigilance, and indefatigable industry, revived in one part of Europe the picture of those tumultuous

tuous and warlike ages, when exertion was roused by difficulty, and firmness hardened by opposition. Yet in his memorable reign of forty-seven years, the ambitious conflicts of an Alexander and a Cæsar were uniformly directed by the political wisdom of a Solon and a Numa, and perpetually brightened by the public virtues of a Titus and an Antonine. From contemplating his various and incomparable merit, I return with new satisfaction and increased confidence to the statesmen and generals of ancient times, whose history, as related by Greek and Roman writers, can no longer be deemed an amplification altogether beyond nature, since the example of Frederick will serve to convince modern incredulity of the wonderful revolution that may be produced by the exertions of one man, in the republic which he guides, or the kingdom which he governs.

THE END.

